The Significance of Copying: Replication of Kyoto's Sacred Spaces in Early Seventeenth Century Edo

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Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

I have read and understood regulation 17.9 of the Regulations for students of the SOAS, University of London concerning plagiarism. I undertake that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

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Abstract

The aim of my thesis is to focus on religious sites in the period around 1603 to 1657 in both Kyoto and Edo, and argue that Tokugawa shogunate intended to replicate religious spaces that already existed in Kyoto for political purposes. Through this process I will also aim to examine what it meant in Japanese city planning to copy more widely, c. 1560 to 1657.

I will use an interdisciplinary approach in order to explain and analyze the complex relationship between different locations, political viewpoints, social environments, religions and architectural styles. The thesis will use existing evidence, including paintings, in order to understand these elements, since there is little other material remaining in many cases. At the same time the thesis will also discuss how such paintings were influenced by previously made works, which presents a historical background attached to it as well.

In the introduction to this thesis, I will introduce the concept of replicating sacred space, discuss the relationship between city authorities and temples and shrines, and how art then reflected these aspects. The following three chapters will address one theme each: ‘mountain landscape’, ‘famous places’, and ‘monuments’.

Chapter ‘mountain landscape’ uses the two Mt. Atagos and the Hie shrines in both Kyoto and Edo as examples to indicate Tokugawa shogunate exercised the replication of the sacred sites which are closely associated with mountains. The chapter on ‘famous places’ will discuss Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto, Kiyomizu-dō in Edo as well as Kiyomizu at Koishikawa Kōrakuen as case studies, and demonstrate how the Tokugawa shogunate understood the importance of rebuilding a ‘famous place’ in Kyoto within their own city of Edo. And the last ‘monuments’ chapter uses the Daibutsu (Great Buddha) to understand the relationship between the Toyotomi clan and the Tokuwaga shogunate, and the significance of a colossal Buddha as an expression of prosperity and power.

Acknowledgements

I dedicate this study to my parents, my two grandmothers and my ancestors. They gave me life and supported me throughout the entire period that I was conducting my research. I am indebted to them at the deepest level, and I can only offer my sincere gratitude.

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Notes on Spelling, Terminology and Transliteration

The majority of Japanese, Chinese, Sanskrit and Pali terms in the thesis have today been generally accepted as part of the English language (for example, Shinto or Bodhisattva). Therefore these words are not given any special treatment or shown with diacritical marks.Most commonly used and importantwords that are not well known have been italicised and shown with diacriticls together with kanji characters. All other foreign language words not in common usage in the English language are shown in italic together with diactriticals in the main text, but have kanji characters added in the glossary section.

This thesis adheres as much as possible to a phonetic transliteration of Japanese words based on the 'Revised Hepburn' system. This is due to the fact that this system is the most commonly used one in the field of academia. However, Japanese names for places, author and publications have been transliterated into English following the methods used by the authors or organisations in question, which do not always conform to the Revised Hepburn system, thus resulting in some inconsistencies overall. To avoid confusion and to remain consistent with European language referencing conventions, Japanese references in the bibliography and text are given surname first.

The kanji used in the main text as well as timelines and glossary are the modern Japanese kanji form in order to minimise the confusion and maximise the readability for the modern reader. However, this needs to be addressed here, the kanji used in this work are not necessarily the original that were used at the specific time of the event, person or place.

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Glossary

Aki Hiroshima 安芸　広島

Amidabha Tathagata　阿弥陀如来 Alsocalled as Amida or Amitāyus, is a celestial buddha described in the scriptures of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Amitābha is the principal buddha in Pure Land Buddhism, a branch of East Asian Buddhism.

An official Korean ambassador 朝鮮通信使

Aratama　荒魂

Atago Gongen　愛宕権現

Azuma Kagami　吾妻鑑

Baika Mujinzō　梅花無尽蔵

Bakufu　幕府

Bateren tsuihō rei　伴天連追放令

Betsugū　別宮

Bikuni　比丘尼

Bugaku　舞楽

Bugyō　奉行

Buke Jikki　武家実記

Bonkei　盆景

Bunrei　分霊

Bonseki　盆石

Bunshi　分祀

Bunshi, bunsha, niimiya, imamiya　分祀　分社　新宮　今宮

Butsudan　仏壇

Bushū Toshimagun Edo no shō zu　武州豊島郡江戸之荘図

Byōbu　屏風

Byōbu uta　屏風歌

Changan　長安

Chashitsu 茶室

Chō　長 See rakuchō

Chōan 長安

Chū　中

Daibutsu daiku　大仏大工

Daibutsuden Hōkō-ji　方広寺大仏殿

Daibutsu, Higashiyama Daibutsu　大仏　東山大仏

Daibutsu Kuyō　大仏供養

Daigo hanami zu　醍醐花見図

Daigongen　大権現

Daijingū Dana　大神宮棚

Daimyo　大名

Danka　檀家

Dengaku　田楽

Dera or tera　寺

Dictionary of Shinto　神道大辞典

Dō　堂

Dōbō　同朋

Edo Fūzoku Zu Byōbu　江戸風俗図屏風

Edo gofunai gofugai zu　江戸御府内府外図

Edo Meishoki　江戸名所記

Edo Meisho Yūrakuzu Byōbu　江戸名所遊楽図屏風

Edo meisho zu　江戸名所図

Edo Meisho Zu Byōbu　江戸名所図屏風

Edo Meisho zue　江戸名所図会

Edo no Ōbushin　江戸の大普請

Edo period 江戸時代

Edo tenka matsuri zu byōbu　江戸天下祭図屏風

Edo zu　江戸図

Edozu byōbu　江戸図屏風

Ehon Taikōki　絵本太閤記

Ezu　絵図

Fudaraku　補陀落

Fudaraku Mountain　補陀落山

Fudaraku tokai　補陀落渡海

Funaki　舟木

Fūryū　風流

Fusō Kyōkashi　扶桑狂歌誌

Fusō Kyōka Shi

Fusō Ryakki　扶桑略記

Fūzoku'e　風俗絵

Genji gumo　源氏雲

Gien Jūgō Nikki　義演准后日記

Gokenin　御家人

Gongensama　権現様

Gongen zukuri　権現造り

Great Fire of Meireki 明暦の大火 Also known as Furisode Fire 振袖火事. The fire broke on the 2nd of third months 1657 and damaged more than 60 percent of Edo.

Hachiman 八幡 The syncretic divinity of archery and war.

Haiden　拝殿

Haiku　俳句

Hakkei　八景

Hakoniwa　箱庭

Heian　平安

Heian period 平安時代

Hendo　辺土

Hibutsu　秘仏

Hie no Yama　ひえのやま

Hiei-zan Enryaku-ji　比叡山延暦寺

Higashiyama　東山

Higashiyama Meisho Zu Byōbu　東山名所図屏風

Hiyoshi Sannō Sairei Kamo Kurabeuma Zu Byōbu　日吉山王祭礼賀茂競馬図屏風

Hiyoshi Sannō Saireizu Byōbu　日吉山王祭礼図屏風

Hizen Nagoya　肥前名護屋

Hōgen Gukei Hitsu 法眼具慶筆

Hōkō-ji　方広寺

Hōkoku sairei　豊国祭礼

Hōkoku Sairei Zu　豊国祭礼図

Hōkoku Saireizu Byōbu　*豊国祭礼図屏風*

Hōkoku Saireizu Byōbu, Toyokuni shrine version　*豊国祭礼図屏風豊国神社本*

Hondō　*本堂*

Hongen byōbu　*本間屏風*

Honjibutsu　*本地仏*

Honji suijaku　*本地垂迹*

Honka　*本歌*

Honkadori　*本歌取*

Honshiki rengakai　*本式連歌会*

Honzan Matsuji　*本山末寺*

Honzon　*本尊*

Hua-Yui distinction *華夷思想* Also known as Sino-barbarian dichotomy

Ihai　*位牌*

Imamichi Tōge　*今路峠*

Ishinoma　*石の間*

Ishinoma zukuri　*石の間造*

Itozakura no Monogatari　*糸桜の物語*

Izanagi no Mikoto

Izanagi no Mikoto *伊邪那岐尊* A deity born of the seven divine generations in Japanese mythology and Shinto.

Jigen Daishi　*慈眼大師*

Jigen Daishi Engi Emaki　*慈眼大師縁起絵巻*

Jingū　*神宮*

Jingū-ji　*神宮寺*

Jingū taima　*神宮大麻*

Jisha sankei mandara　*寺社参詣曼荼羅*

Jo-an　*如庵*

Jōka ezu　*城下絵図*

Jurakudai　*聚楽第*

Jurakudai Zu Byōbu　*聚楽第図屏風*

Jyakō no ma shikō　*麝香間祇候*

Kabuki　*歌舞伎*

Kabukimono　傾奇者

Kaimyō　戒名

Kaishisō　華夷思想

Kakezukuri　懸造り

Kamakuraku　鎌倉府

Kamakura period 鎌倉時代

Kamakura Meishoki　鎌倉名所記

Kamakura Meishozue　鎌倉名所図絵

Kamakura Ōniki　鎌倉大日記

Kamakura shogunate 鎌倉幕府

Kami　神

Kamidana　神棚

Kamigami　神々

Kanazawa hakkei　金沢八景

Kanchō　潅頂

Kan'ei-ji Daibutsu　寛永寺大仏

Kan'ei Tsūhō　寛永通宝

Kanemi Kyōki　兼見卿記

Kanginshū　閑吟集

Kanjin　勧進

Kanjin hijiri　勧進聖

Kanjō　勧請

Kannon　観音

Kannon no Honchi　観音の本地

Kantō Tendaishū Shohatto　関東天台宗諸法度

Karahafū　唐破風

Kasen-e 歌仙絵

Kasuga gongen ki-e　春日権現記絵

Keichō Edo Ezu　慶長江戸図

Kimon　鬼門

Kin'un　金雲

Kiritsubo no Nyōgo　桐壺の女御

Kiyomizu　清水

Kiyomizu-dera　清水寺

Kiyomizu-dera Hanami Ki　清水寺花見記

Kiyomizu-dera Sankei Mandara　清水寺参詣曼荼羅

Kiyomizudera Yūraku Zu　清水寺遊楽図

Kiyomizu-dō Hanaminozu　清水堂花見之図

Kō　康

Kōbun Ruishū　古文類集

Kōjien　広辞苑

Kō-jō　皇城 or 江城

Kokka ankō kunshin hōraku　國家安康君臣豐樂

Kokei Gyōjō　古溪行状

Kokin Denju　古今伝授

Kokinshū　古今集

Kokin Wakashū　古今和歌集

Koku　石

Konjaku Monogatari Shū　今昔物語集

Kōrakuen Kiji　後楽園記事

Koshō　小姓

Kōzu　高津

Kubō　公方

Kuchiki Zakura　朽木桜

Kunimi　国見

Kunimi uta　国見歌

Kyō　京

Kyoto Daiku Gashira 京都大工頭

Kyoto Shoshidai 京都所司代

Kyōka　狂歌

Kyō uchi　京内

Kyō Warabe　京童

Machi Bugyō　町奉行

Meigetsuki　明月記

Makura no Sōshi　枕草子

Mana Engi　真名縁起

Massha　末社

Meibutsu seki　名物石

Meiō Jishin　明応地震

Meisho　名所

Meisho'e　名所絵

Meishoki　名所記

Meisho Waka Monogatari　名所和歌物語

Meishozu　名所図

Meisho zue　名所図会

Metsuke　目付

Mitama utsushi　御霊移し

Mitate　見立て

Mitosama Edo Oyashiki Oniwa no Zu　水戸様江戸御屋敷御庭之図

Mitosama Koishikawa Oyashiki Oniwa no Zu　水戸様小石川御屋敷御庭之図

Mitsui Memorial Museum 三井記念美術館

Miyako　都

Muen　無縁

Monzenmachi　門前町

Muromachidono Nikki　室町殿日記

Muromachi period 室町時代

Musashi no Zu Byōbu　武蔵の図屏風

Nadokoro　名所

Naishō　内証

Nanpō Roku　南方録

Nigitama　和魂

Nihon Reiiki　日本霊異記

Nihon Shoki　日本書紀

Nihon terabugyō　日本寺奉行

Nihon Toshishi Nyūmon　日本都市史入門

Nijū kōgi　二重公儀

Nikitama　和魂

Niōmon　仁王門

Nyoirin Kannon　如意輪観音

Ochiboshū　落穂集

Odoi　　御土居

Oinari-sama　お稲荷様

Oku　奥

Ōmi hakkei　近江八景

Omote-muki　表向き

Ōnin war 応仁の乱 A civil war that lasted from 1467 to 1477, during the Muromachi period in Japan.

Onyōji　陰陽師

Onyōshi　陰陽史

Ōoku　大奥

Osadamegaki　御定書

Otogishū　御伽集

Otogi Zōshi　御伽草子

Penjing 盆景 See bonkei

Potalaka　補陀落 See Fudaraku

Rakuchō　洛長

Rakuchū　洛中

Rakuchū rakugai no byōbu　洛中洛外の屏風

Rakuchū rakugai no zu　洛中洛外の図

Rakuchū rakugai zu　洛中洛外図

Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu　洛中洛外図屏風

Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Funaki Screens　洛中洛外図舟木本

Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Kōhon　洛中洛外図歴博甲本

Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version A　洛中洛外図歴博 A 本

Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version D　洛中洛外図歴博 D 本

Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Uesugi Screens　洛中洛外図上杉本

Rakuchū tsukinami zu　洛中月次図

Rakuchū zu　洛中図

Rakugai　洛外

Rakujō　洛城

Rakuyō　洛陽

Rekihakase　歴博士

Rekihaku　歴博

Rekihaku kōhon　歴博甲本

Rekihaku Ōtsuhon　歴博乙本

Ritsuryō　律令

Rōjū　老中

Rokudō rinne　六道輪廻

Rokuon Nichiroku　鹿苑日録

Rokuon Sōroku　鹿苑僧録

Rushanabutsu　盧遮那仏

Ryōkaku-tei　遼廓亭

Sagichō festival 左義長祭り or Tondo *とんど*

Saijin　祭神

Saireizu　祭礼図

Saishō Oshō Mon An　西笑和尚文案

Sakuji bugyō　作事奉行

Sankei mandara　参詣曼荼羅

Sannō or Sannō Gongen　山王　山王権現

Sannō ichijitsu　山王一実

Saseki　左隻

Seisui　聖水

Sengoku period 戦国時代

Sengū　遷宮

Senju Kannon　千手観音

Senmai Bundō　千枚分銅

Senryū　川柳

Senzō'e　千僧会

Sessha　摂社

Sue no Matsuyama　末の松山

Suhama　州浜

Suijaku Shin　垂迹神

Sukune Ki　宿禰記

Sumizome Zakura　墨染桜

Sunpu Ki　*駿府記*

Suruga Miyage　*駿河土産*

Suyari gasumi　*すやり霞*

Shaji sankei mandara　*社寺参詣曼荼羅*

Shaji sankei zu　*社寺参詣図*

Shaka　*釈迦*

Shie Jiken　*紫衣事件*

Shiki'e　*四季絵*

Shikinen sengū　*式年遷宮*

Shimadai　*島台*

Shin Daibutsu　*新大仏*

Shindenzukuri　*寝殿造り*

Shinga　*新画*

Shirakawa　*白河*

Shiro ezu　*城絵図*

Shishin sō`ō　*四神相応*

Shōen ezu　*荘園絵図*

Shōgū　*正宮*

Shokan-sha　*所管社*

Shōrō　*鐘楼*

Shoshidai　*所司代*

Shōshō hakkei　*瀟湘八景*

Shūgai Shō　*拾芥抄*

Shugenja　*修験者*

Shukukei　*縮景*

Sishenxiangou　*四神相応* See shishin sōō

Sōan　*草庵*

Sorei　*祖霊*

Suyari gasumi　*すやり霞*

Taian　*大安*

Taikōki　*太閤記*

Taikosama Gunki　*太閤様軍記*

Taima or ofuda　*大麻*　*お札*

Tairō　大老

Taitōku Kyōiku Iinkai　台東区教育委員会

Takao Kanpū Zu Byōbu　高雄観楓図屏風

Tamonin Nikki　多聞院日記

Tandai　探題

Tatsuramu　立つらむ

Tendai Zasu　天台座主

Tenmonhakase　天文博士

Tenshō Nikki　天正日記

Tensō chifu sai　天曹地府祭

Tōeizan　東叡山

Tōeizan kaisan jigen daishi engi　東叡山開山慈眼大師縁起

Tōeizan Shodō Konryū ki　東叡山諸堂建立記

Tōdaiki　当代記

Tōkaidō Gojūsantsugi Hachiyama Zue　東海道五十三次鉢山図絵

Tōkan Kikō　東関紀行

Tokugawa Jikki　徳川実紀

Tokushi Yoron　読史余論

Torii　鳥居

Tōshō Daigongen　東照大権現

Tōshō Daimyōjin　東照大明神

Tōshō-gū Engi Emaki　東照宮縁起絵巻

Tōshō-gū Gojikki Furoku　東照宮御実紀附録

Tōshō Myōjin　東照明神

Tōtokikō　東都紀行

The Analects　論語

The Tale of Genji　源氏物語

The Tale of Ise　伊勢物語

The Tale of the Heike　平家物語

Tsukikage　月影

Tsukinami`e　月次絵

Tsukinami Saireizu Mohon　月次祭礼図模本

Tsurezuregusa　徒然草

Ubusunagami　産土神

Udaijin　*右大臣*

Ueno Daibutsu Ryakuki　*上野大仏略記*

Ueno Kiyomizu-dō　*上野清水堂*

Uesugi　*上杉*

Uji Shūi Monogatari　*宇治拾遺物語*

Ukiyo　*浮世*

Ukiyo-e　*浮世絵*

Ukyō　*右京*

Umadome　*馬駐*

Useki　*右隻*

Uta awase　*歌合*

Utamakura　*歌枕*

Utsushi　*写し*

Utsusu　*移す*

Waka　*和歌*

Wakamiya　*若宮*

Washi　*和紙*

Wu Xing　*五行*

Yakushi Nyorai　*薬師如来*

Yakushi Rurikō Nyorai　*薬師瑠璃光如来*

Yamanoue Sōji Ki　*山上宗二記*

Yamato court *大和朝廷*

Yamato'e　*大和絵*

Yatsushi　*窶し*

Ying Yang　*陰陽*

Yokawa　*横川*

Yōtenki　*耀天記*

Yume no Ukihashi　*夢浮橋*

Yūraku Junbutsu　*遊楽人物*

Yūraku zu　*遊楽図*

Yutaka　*豊* See hō

People

Akechi Mitsuhide　明智光秀　(1528-1582)　A samurai and general who lived during the Sengoku period 戦国時代 of Feudal Japan. Mitsuhide was a general under daimyo Oda Nobunaga. He is most known for his rebellion against Nobunaga in 1582, which led to Nobunaga's death at Honno-ji 本能寺.

Asakura clan　朝倉氏　A daimyo clan of the Muromachi period, arising as shugo daimyo of Echizen province, north of Kyoto. After the Ōnin war, they consilidated their control of the province of Echizen based out of their castle of Ichijōdani. However, they attempted to fight Nobunaga consolidation of the home provinces in alliance with the Asai clan, but Ichijōdani castle fell in 1573 with the family committing suicide.

Asakura Sadakage　朝倉貞景　(1473-1512)　The 9th head of Asakura clan. He based Echizen 越前, a present-day Fukui 福井 prefecture. He also donated a building called Asakura-dō 朝倉堂 or Hokke-dō 法華堂 to Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto.

Asano Nagaakira　浅野長晟　(1586-1632)　A Japanese samurai of the early Edo period who served first for Hideyoshi then Ieyasu. He became a daimyo of the Kishū domain, then Aki domain.

Ashikaga shogun　足利将軍　A governer of Japan under the Imperial designation of Seii Taishōgun. In 1338, Ashikaga Takauji became the first Ashikaga shogun and his clan inherited its shogunal position until 1573. This almost dynasty-like governing system is called as Ashikaga Bakufu 足利幕府, and it is also called as Muromachi Bakufu 室町幕府.

Ashikaga Yoshiaki　足利義昭　(1537-1597)　The 15th shogun of the Ashikaga shogunate who reigned from 1568 to 1588. His father, Ashikaga Yoshiharu was the 12th shogun, and his brother, Ashikaga Yoshiteru was the thirteenth shogun.

Ashikaga Yoshiharu　足利義晴　(1511-1550)　The 12th shogun of theAshikaga shogunate who held the reigns of supreme power during the late Muromachi period from 1521 to 1546.

Ashikaga Yoshimasa　足利義政　(1436-1490)　The 8th shogun of the Ashikaga shogunate who reigned from 1449 to 1473 during the Muromachi period.

Ashikawa Yoshiteru　足利義輝　(1536-1565)　The 13th shogun of the Ashikaga shogunate who reigned from 1546 to 1565 during the late Muromachi period.

Ban Kōkei　伴蒿蹊　(1733-1806)　A poet and writer. He published Kinsei Kijinden 近世畸人傳 in 1790 which tells stories of historical figures.

Banri Shūku　万里集九　(1428-Date of death unknown.)　A Rinzai 臨済 monk and poet. He lived in Kyoto as a monk then returned to secular life. He moved to Edo in 1485 by the invitation of Ōta Dōkan and published his Baika Mujinzō 梅花無尽蔵 at around the 1500s.

Doi Toshikatsu　土井利勝　(1573-1644)　A top-ranking official in Japan's Tokugawa shogunate during its early decades. He is a relative of Ieyasu and served to three Tokugawa shoguns; Ieyasu, Hidetada and Iemitsu. While other high ranked officials often retired when shogun changed, Doi remained in centere of the power till his death.

Dong Yuan　董源　(c.934-c.962)　A Chinese painter in Southern Tang Kingdom 南唐. He painted both figures and landscapes, and his elegant style became one of the major painting styles in China for centuries.

Eishōin　英勝院　(1587-1642)　A concubine who served for Ieyasu. She was said to be related to Ōta Dōkan though she is also said to be related Toyama clan. It is said that Tenkai introduced her to Ieyasu. She established good relationship withShoguns, especially both Ieyasu and Iemitsu. Her political presence was quite large. For example, it was her who first introduced Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀, the future head of Mito Tokugawa branch 水戸徳川家 to Iemitsu when Iemitsu became the third shogun. She was given her own temple at Kamakura by Iemitsu in 1634.

Emperor Godaigo　後醍醐天皇　(1288-1339)　The 96th Emperor of Japan, second son of Emperor Go-Uda. Orginally ascended to the throne 1318-1321, then retired. But he did not retire from politics, and plotted to overthrow the Kamakura Shogunate, failing in revolt in the 1324 Shōchū incident, before the eventually successful 1331 Kenkō war that led to the Kemmu Restoration of 1333 which saw Kamakura burned, and his own return to Kyoto as Emperor. However, in 1335-1336 relations broke down with warriors led by Ashikaga Takauji, which forced him to flee to Yoshino while a rival Imperial court was set up in Kyoto marking the start of the Nambokuchō era 南北朝時代 or the era of the Northern and southern dynasties.

Emperor Go-Mizunoo　後水尾天皇　(1596-1680)　The 108th Emperor of Japan. He reigned 1611-1629, then retired and lived for another 51 years seeing the reigns of his children, Meisho, Go-Kōmyo, Go-sai

and Reigen. He would take holy orders in 1651. He long retirement seems to have been due to discontent with strong arming by the Shogunate, in his marriage to Tōfukumon'in, the ascension of his daughter, and the Purple Robe incident over his links to clerical appointments. But he remained a major player in the culture of the era 'Kan'ei' in particularly involved in poetic studies, incense, tea ceremony, *ikebana*, as wells as the arts of the Rinpa, Tosa and Kanō schools. He also sponsored the construction of the Shūgakuin, a villa on near Mt. Hiei in 1659, famed its use of water in the garden and three tea houses.

Emperor Go-Shirakawa　後白河天皇　(1127-1192)　The 77th Emperor of Japan and a son of Emperor Toba, ruling as Emperor 1155-1158 before retiring to become a cloistered Emperor *insei* after successfully navigating the Hogen incident of 1158. He backed the Taira against the Minamoto in the Heiji incident of 1169 only to find the Taira under Taira no Kiyomori too powerful that leading to alliance with Minamoto no Yoritomo during the Gempei war of 1180-1185. Also wrote a famous treatise of songs particularly of the contemporary variety the Ryōjinhishō.

Emperor Go-Yōzei　後陽成天皇　(1571-1617)　The 107th Emperor of Japan. A grandson of Emperor Oogimachi. Reigned between 1586-1611 before retiring for his final six years. Studied the classics of Japanese prose and poetry with Hosokawa Yūsai and other literati. Aslo oversaw woodblock printing of old texts and histories while writing his own diary.

Emperor Kanmu　桓武天皇　(737-860)　The 50th Emperor of Japan. He ascending to the throne at the age 45 and becoming one of the most powerful Japanese emperors. Wishing to reduce the power of the Nara Buddhist priesthood, and other reasons he decided to move the capital in 794, Heian-Kyō or Kyoto. He also helped protect and sponsor a monk Kūkai and Saichō, the founders of Both Shingon and Tendai Buddhism in Japan.

Empress Meishō　明正天皇　(1624-1696)　The 109th Emperor of Japan, 2nd to last female Emperor. Her reign lasted from 1629 to 1643. She was a daughter of Go-Mizono with Tōfukumon'in, a daughter of Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada. Her Tokugawa blood led to the Edo Bakufu insisting that she ascend ahead of her brothers at the age of seven. She was the first female Emperor since the Nara period, which highlights the importance the Shogunate placed on an Emperor of their stock.

Emperor Suinin　垂仁天皇　(Date of birth and death unknown.)　Also known as Ikumeiribikoisachi no Mikoto 活目入彦五十狭茅尊; was the 11th emperor of Japan. Although some historians doubt his historical existence, his decision to move a shrine to Ise is described in Nihon Shoki 日本書紀.

Ennin　円仁　(794-864)　A Tendai school monk. Might be better known in Japan by his posthumous name, Jikaku Daishi 慈覺大師.

Fan Zhongyan　范仲淹　(989-1052)　Known as Zhu Yue during his youth, was a prominent politician and literary figure in Song dynasty 宋 China. He was also a strategist and educator.

Fujiwara no Teika　藤原定家　(1162-1241)　Also called as Fujiwara no Sadaie. A poet, critic, calligrapher, novelist, anthologist, scribe, and scholar who served to Imperial Court in the late Heian to early Kamakura periods.

Fujiwara no Yoritsugu　藤原頼嗣　(1239-1256)　The fifth shogun of the Kamakura shogunate of Japan. His father was the 4th Kamakura shogun, Kujō Yoritsune 九条頼経. Yoritsugu's reign was between 1244 to 1252.

Fukushima Masanori　福島正則　(1561-1624)　A daimyo of the late Sengoku period to early Edo Period who served as lord of the Hiroshima Domain. He first served to Hideyoshi. Although he was on the side of Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara, he did not join the battle. He remained somewhat caring Hideyoshi's son, Hideyori and paid effort to ease tnsion built between Toyotomi and Tokugawa. In 1619, he was deprived from their fief by Tokugawa Hidetada.

Gan`ami　願阿弥　(Date of birth unknown-1486)　A Ji-shū monk who was active durling the Muromachi period. He was active in Kyoto to gather donations for the poor. He supported the revival of Nanzen-ji, as well as Kiyomizu-dera towards the end of his life.

Gien　義演　(1558-1626)　A Shingon sect monk who was born into the family of the Nijō Fujiwara regents. He became the head of Daigo-ji temple 醍醐寺 where he presided over a revival and rebuilding of the temple complex that had been ruined in the Ōnin war. His efforts culminated in the 1598 flower viewing event with Hideyoshi himself was the chief as well as continued vists and patronage from the Imperial House. He also revived high Shingon ritual and wrote a diary as well as history of Daigo-ji.

Gyōei Koji　行叡居士　(Both date of birth and death unknown.)　He was a monk who helped establishing Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto together with Sakanoue no Tamuramaro in the mid to end of the 8th century.

Hidetada's daughter, Senhime　千姫　(1597-1666)　The eldest daughter of the second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada and his wife Oeyo, also known as Tenjuin 天樹院. She married to Toyotomi Hideyori, they had no issue and she survived the fall of Osaka castle and in 1616 remarried Honda Tadatoki, he died in 1626 she again retruned to Edo took up monastic orders but remained close to Tokugawa Iemitsu.

Hishikawa Moronobu　菱川師宣　(1618-1694)　An artist famed for popularizing the imagery of the floating world (Ukiyo) into woodblock prints, often called the founder of the "Ukiyo-e school" or the "Hishikawa school". He also did many paintings of the Ukiyo genres of which 150 paintings. Originally an embroiderer in modern Chiba in becoming an artist, he studied the Tosa, Kano schools and moved to Edo.

Hitomi Bōsai　人見懋斎　(1638－1696)　A Kyoto born Confucian scholar who studied under Shu Shunsui 朱舜水 and served for Mito clan 水戸藩. He also studied under Hayashi Gahō 林鵞峰.

Honganji Kōsa　本願寺光佐 or 本願寺顕如　(1543-1592)　A Jōdo-shin monk. Also known as Kennyo, who furiously opposed against Oda Nobunaga.

Hori Naotoki　堀直時　(1616-1643)　Second son of Hori Naoyori. He became the 2nd head of Hori clan after his father.

Hori Naoyori　堀直寄　(1577-1639)　A Daimyo who served both Toyotomi and Tokugawa clan. He received shogunal visits to his house in Edo by both Tokugawa Hidetada and Iemitsu. He donated land for Kan'ei-ji and also donated Daibutsu. In 1636, he retired and became a monk. Kanō Tan'yū made a portrait of him for this occation, indicating strong political presence possesed by Naoyori.

Hosokawa Takakuni　細川高国　(1484-1531)　A Daimyo who was active in Sengoku era. He was a Kanrei to the Ashikaga Bakufu, then adopted son of Hosokawa Masamoto. He took over headship of the Hosokawa on Masamoto's death in 1507 and worked to put Ashikaga Yoshitane to the Shogunate. In 1521 on Yoshitane's death, he raised Yoshiharu as shougn, but was defeated and driven out of Kyoto by the Miyohsi backed forces of Ashikaga Yoshitsuna in 1528. Finally, he was trapped in Tennou-ji and commited suicide in 1531.

Hosokawa Yūsai　細川幽斎　(1534-1610)　A Daimyo of the Sengoku period who suerved the Ashikaga, and then each of the three unifiers in turn. Also known as Hosokawa Fujitaka 細川藤孝. His descendants would rule the Kumamoto domain for most of the Edo period. Famed as a waka poet having learned from Sanjōnishi Saneki 三条西実枝. Considered the founder of Edo period poetry studies. He wrote a number of treatises on poetry as well as diaries of his campaigns in Kyūshū and Kantō. He was as both patron and participant in other cultural sphere such as chanoyu, music and commentaries on classical literature.

Hosokawa clan　細川氏　A name of a number of Daimyo clans. The first being a branch family of the Ashikaga who served as Shugo daimyo in Shikoku and Kanrei. They emerged as the dominant in the Ashikaga shogunate after the Ōnin war until their overthrow and destruction by the Miyoshi family in 1564.

The second Hosokawa clan of notes, initially distant relatives of the aforementioned ashikaga based in Izumi, whom come into the service of first Oda Nobunaga and then Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Eventually they become the daimyo of Kumamoto domain.

Hosokawa Katsumoto　細川勝元　(1430-1473)　A Kanrei or deputy to the Ashikaga Shoguns, during Japan's Muromachi period. He is famous for his involvement in the creation of Ryōan-ji, a temple famous for its rock garden, and for his involvement in the Ōnin War, which sparked the 130-year Sengoku period. He attempted with fleeting success to restore order to the Home provinces controlling Kyoto the persons of the Ashikaga shoguns and the Imperial house.

Ikeda Mitsumasa　池田光政　(1609-1682)　A Japanese daimyo of the early Edo period in the domain of Bizen (modern Okayama). His mother was Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada's adopted daughter. He accompanied Iemitsu on pigrimmages to Nikko. And helped manage floods, earthquakes, promoted flood controll works and the Shizutanigakkou in 1674 one of the first village schools in Japan.

Ikeda Terumasa　池田輝政　(1565-1613)　A daimyo of the early Edo period. His court title was Musashi no Kami. He served Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Because of his close relationship with Hideyoshi, Ikeda accompanied Ieyasu when Ieyasu invited Hideyoshi's son, Hideyori, to Nijō castle.

Ikoma Takatoshi　生駒高俊　(1611-1659)　A daimyo of the early Edo period, who ruled the Takamatsu Domain. He caused a scandal of Ikoma Sōdō. Famed for his interest in swords. He was a leading figure in the Maeno schools.

Imai Sōkyū　今井宗久　(1552-1590)　An important 16th century merchant in the Japanese port town of Sakai, and a master of the tea ceremony. His yagō was Naya. Served Oda Nobunaga, Hdieyoshi as a tea master, a supplier and as an official. His son Sōkun served for Tokugawa Ieyasu. He wrote a tea diary called Imai Sōkyū Chanoyu kakinuki.

Inkai　胤海　(Both dates of birth and death unknown.)　A Tendai monk. One of the highest pupils of Tenkai. His father, Seyakuin Sōhaku was a medical doctor who served for Hideyoshi, Ieyasu and Hidetada.

Ishin Sūden　以心崇伝　(1569-1633)　Also known as Konchiin Sūden 金地院崇伝. A Rinzai monk from an Ashikaga bureaucratic family originally attached to Nanzenji temple in Kyoto. He became an important religious and foreign affairs advisor to the first three Tokugawa Shoguns, Ieyasu, Hidetada and Iemitsu. He was a leading force in anti-Christian legislation as well as the Shiejiken incident over the Emperor's role in clerical appointments. He also wrote a number of works, a diary of his work for the Tokugawa, a diary his contacts with foriegn countries.

Itakura Katsushige　板倉勝重　(1545-1624)　A daimyo of the Azuchi-Momoyama Period to early Edo period. He fought at the side of Tokugawa Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, and served him as an official in many places, most notaly as the Tokugawa representative in Kyoto for 20 years, famed for his judicial fairness. His son Shigemune would also serve in that role.

Iwasa Matabei　岩佐又兵衛　(1578-1650)　An artist of the early Tokugawa period, who specialised in genre scenes of historical events and illustrations of classical Chinese and Japanese literature, as well as portraits. Son of Araki Murashige, a daimyo who was killed and dispossessed by Oda Nobunaga. After living in Kyoto, he served for a time the Echizen domain until invited to Edo by Tokugawa Iemitsu in 1637.

John Saris　(1579-1643)　The captain of the first English voyage to Japan, in 1613, on board the Clove. As chief factor of the British East India Company's trading post in Java, Saris' mission was primarily of seeking trade.

Kanō Eitoku　狩野永徳　(1543-1590)　A painter who lived during the Azuchi–Momoyama period. He is one of the most prominent patriarchs of the Kanō school of Japanese painting. Working in Kyoto for both Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, including painted walls and fusuma for their castles of Azuchi and Osaka. Their destruction means most of his surviving works are portable folding screens and the Jukō-in building of Daitoku-ji, Kyoto.

Kanō Mitsunobu　狩野光信　(1565–1608)　Eldest son of Kanō Eitoku and an influential artist of the Kanō school of Japanese painting. He worked on many of the famous castles and palaces of the Azuchi-Momoyama, Azuchi castle, Nijō castle, Fushimi castle, and temples such as Mii-dera and Daitoku-ji etc., working with his father and other leading Kanō artists like Kanō Sanraku.

Kanō Motonobu　狩野元信　(1476-1559)　A Kanō painter. He was a member of the Kanō school of painting serving the three unifiers in various projects such as the painted surfaces of Azuchi Castle, Nagoya castle in Bizen, and the Nijō castle of Kyoto. He would move to Edo briefly 1606-1608 befroe returning to his hometown of Kyoto.

Kanō Sōshū　狩野宗秀　(1551-1601)　A Kanō school painter. Also known as Kanō Munehide. He is a younger brother of Eitoku. His most famous works inlcuding 36 immortal poets, and painted fans of various famous places in Kyoto.

Kanō Takanobu　狩野孝信　(1571-1618)　A Kanō school painter during Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573–1615). His father was Eitoku and his elder brother was Mitsunobu. He remained in Kyoto and painted for both court and shogunate in places like the wall paintings of Ninna-ji.

Kanō Tan'yū　狩野探幽　(1602-1674)　A painter and a son of Takanobu. Of all the 17th century artists, his work was most canonical in its day, as well as later in the Edo period. Tan'yu studied in Kyoto but left for Edo as early as 1617, complying with a Tokugawa request that he serve as an official painter. Tan'yu painted ornamentation of several palatial Tokugawa residences of both Nijō castle and Edo castle, Kyoto's imperial palace, Nikko Tōshō-gū, Kan'ei-ji, as well as works for Daiotku-ji and Nanzen-ji.

Kanshitsu Genkitsu　閑室元佶　(1548-1612)　A Rinzai monk. After being the head monk at Nanzen-ji temple, he was invited by Ieyasu to establish Enkō-ji 円光寺 at Ieyasu retirement residence of Sunpu.

Kiyohara no Motosuke　清原元輔　(908-990)　A Heian period waka poet and Japanese nobleman. Conseridered among the 36 immortal poets and was colllator of the Gosenwakashū.

Kokei Sōchin　古渓宗陳　(1532-1597)　Also known as Hoan Kokei 蒲庵古渓. A Rinzai sect monk. A head of Daitoku-ji temple. He became close to Hideyoshi but later their relationship was cooled down due to the tea master Rikyū's death.

Konoe Nobutada　近衛信尹　(1565-1614)　An aristocrat during the late Azuchi momoyama period to early Edo period. He is from a family prominent enough for Oda Nobunaga to attend his manhood ceremony. His rising to the regeny or "Kampaku" was obstructed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi's assumption of the title, leading to his retirement from poltics to focus on cultural pursuits. His calligraphy skills were famed to have be called one of the 3 brushes of the Kanei era.

Luis Frois　(1532-1597)　A Portuguese missionary. He was born in Lisbon and in 1548 joined the Society of Jesus (Jesuits). In 1563, he arrived in Japan to engage in missionary work, and in the following year arrived in Kyoto, meeting Ashikaga Yoshiteru who was then Shogun. In 1569, he befriended Oda Nobunaga and stayed in his personal residence in Gifu while writing books for a short while.

Maeda Gen'i　前田玄以　(1539-1602)　He served Nobunaga after being a Buddhist monk, then after his death, served Hideyoshi. He was a Deputy over Kyoto under both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi and dealt with Imperial households. Although he joined on anti-Ieyasu side after Hideyoshi`s death, he leaked intelligent to Ieyasu so remained as Daimyo after the Battle of Sekigahara.

Maeda Toshitsune　前田利常　(1594-1658)　A daimyo of the Edo period, who ruled the Kaga Domain. Toshitsune was a brother of Maeda Toshinaga and a son of Toshiie. Adopted as his heir, he became the wealthiest daimyo outside the Tokugawa. He controlled Etchū, Kaga, and Noto provinces. His heir was Maeda Mitsutaka.

Matsudaira Fumai　松平不昧　(1751-1818)　A daimyo of the mid-Edo period, who ruled the Matsue domain. He was renowned as a tea master, under the name Matsudaira Fumai. His samurai name is Matsudaira Harusato 松平治郷.

Matsudaira Nobutsuna　松平信綱　(1596-1662)　A daimyo of the early Edo period, who ruled the Kawagoe Domain. He became a close attendant to Iemitsu from early years of his life and it continued till Iemitsu's death. He suppressed Shimabara rebellion and conducted to rebuilding the Edo castle when it caught fire in 1639.

Matsudaira Tadaakira　松平忠明　(1583-1644)　A samurai of theAzuchi-Momoyama Period through early Edo period. He was a retainer and relative of the Tokugawa clan. He contributed to re-develop the city of Osaka by first demolishing what Hideyoshi created. He also ordered to move temples to certain designated areas.

Matsudaira Yorishige　松平頼重　(1622-1695)　A daimyo of the early Edo period, who ruled the Takamatsu Domain. He was born as the eldest son of Tokugawa Yorifusa, then first head of Mito branch of Tokugawa clan. Though he was not chosen as Yorifusa's heir and Tokugawa Mitsukuni became the head of the branch. His relationship with Mitsukuni, however, was fine and peaceful throughout.

Michiko no Takumi　路子工　(Dates of birth and death unknown.)　Active around beginning of the 7th century. He was from the Korean Peninsula and built aWu-style bridge and a replica of Mt. Sumeru in the south garden of the Oharida palace in 612.

Minamoto no Yoritomo　源頼朝　(1147-1199)　The founder and the first shogun of the Kamakura Shogunate of Japan. Born to Minamoto no Yoshimoto, a war chief in the service to Emperor Go-shirakawa. Exiled to province Sagami after his father was defeated by the Taira, where he married into the local family of the Hōjō. Taking advantage of a breakdown in relations between the Taira and the Imperial house, he established control of the Kantō region with a base in Kamakura in which became the Kamakura Shogunate. His forces proceded to destroy the rival warrior clan of the Taira in 1185. Then he consolidated his position as the dominant force in warrior and thus Japanese politics, reciving the title of Seii Taishōgun or in 1192.

Minamoto no Yorimitsu　源頼光　(948-1021)　A leading warrior during the height of the Fujiwara regency under Fujiwara no Michinaga also known as Minamoto no Raikō. He served in a variety of provincial and capital posts, among them outfitting with utensils Fujiwara no Michinaga's palace the Tsuchimikado. He became posthumously a figure of popular legend told in, as a hero, who with his four subordinates "four heavenly kings" serving the Emperor, fighting monsters the Tsuchi-gumo, in tale collections like the *Konjaku Monogatari* of the late Heian Japan or *Otogozōshi* like Shuten-dōji.

Minamoto no Yorinobu　源頼信　(968-1048)　A warrior chieftain of the middle Heian period serving during the era of Fujiwara no Michinaga at the height of the Fujiwara Regency. Brother of Yorimitsu. Served as an official in the Eastern provinces, where he famously supressed the revolt of Taira no Tadatsune in 1028, which was elevated to a semi-legendary deed by its inclusion in the *Konjaku Monogatari*.

Mokujiki Ōgo　木食応其　(1536-1608)　A Shingon sect monk who was active in Azuchi momoyama period. Earlier days of his record is unknown but from the 1580s, he played important role under Hideyoshi. He then help to establish Daibutsu in Kyoto and many other important religious architecture. Though, he later lost credibility as he supported Hideyoshi's brother Hidetsugu. He survived but remained fairly silent until his death.

Motonaga Kanroji　甘露寺元長　(1456-1527)　An aristocrat and was one of the very few most powerful men attached to the Imperial court.

Murata Jukō　村田珠光　(1422-1502)　Known as the founder of the Japanese tea ceremony, in that he was the early developer of the wabi-cha style of tea enjoyment employing native Japanese implements. His name may also be pronounced Murata Shukō. He served for the 8th Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimasa.

Nakai family　中井家　A carpentry clan that served originally to Hōryū-ji temple, Nara. Their activity expanded outside of Hōryū-ji since 1580s and played a leading role when creating Tokugawa's official architecture. Their building spans from Nikkō, Nijō castle, Edo castle, Imperial palace and Hōkō-ji, Kyoto. The family was designated as head of carpenters in Kyoto.

Nakai Masakiyo　中井正清　(1565-1619)　A master carpenter who originally came from Nara. After the Battle of Sekigahara, he started to serve Iryasu. He was in charge of Kinai carpenters.

Nakane Masamori　中根正盛　(1588-1666)　A samurai who first started to serve Hidetada then served to Iemitsu.

Nijō Akizane　二条昭実　(1556-1619)　A kugyō (court noble) of the Azuchi-Momoyama period and the early Edo period.

Nonoguchi Ryūho　野々口立圃　(1595-1669)　Poet who was active in Kyoto at the beggining of Edo period.

Oda Nagamasu　織田長益　(1547-1622)　A Japanese daimyo who lived from the late Sengoku period through the early Edo period. Also known as Urakusai 有楽斎, he was a brother of Oda Nobunaga. He servived time of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi then Ieyasu. Known as a tea master and lived in Kyoto in his later period.

Oda Nobunaga　織田信長　(1534-1582)　A powerful daimyo in the late 16th century. Born in Owari province to a local warrior, he rose to unify the province by 1560, then conquer the surrounding provinces of Mino and Ise then made an alliance with Tokugawa Ieyasu, the daimyo of Mikawa. In 1568, he allied with Ashikaga Yoshiaki to march on Kyoto, which allowed him to establish himself in the home provinces. Over the next decade, he steadily conquered close to a third of Japan against various coaltions of daimyo (Asai, Asakura, Takeda, Uesugi, Mori etc.) and religous groups (Enryaku-ji and Ishiyama Hongan-ji True Pure Land sect). In 1573, he ended the Ashikaga shogunate by exiling Ashikaga Yoshiaki from Kyoto and not replacing him, hence ending the Muromachi era. In 1576, he had the vast castle of Azuchi built on the shores of lake Biwa in Ōmi as his personal headquarters, comissioning Kanō Eitoku to paint its surfaces. He raised many subordinates to daimyo status, Maeda Gen'i, Akechi Mitsuhide and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He was killed in the Honnō-ji incident of 1582 at the height of his power by Akechi Mitsuhide.

Ogata Kōrin　尾形光琳　(1658-1716)　A Japanese painter of the Rinpa school in the Middle Edo period. Born to Kyoto clothier family. His brother was a famous potter Ogata Kanzan 尾形乾山. He decided to become an artist, studying with the Kanō school before discovering the work of Tawaraya Sōtatsu 俵屋宗達. He revived the Rimpa style (Rimpa is another reading of the second character in Kōrin). He not only did paintings like the famous Wind God and Thunder God, *Fujin Raijin*, folding screen, but also worked in other illustrations like Laquerware. He in 1704 moved to Edo to 1711, when he returned to Kyoto thus he brought Rimpa to the Edo stage.

Ōkubo Nagayasu　大久保長安　(1545-1613)　A Japanese samurai bureaucrat and daimyo of the Edo period.

Ōta Dōkan　太田道灌　(1432-1486)　A samurai warrior, poet, and Buddhist monk. He developed the earliest stages of Edo and his Edo castle in the second half of the 15th century.

Owari Tokugawa family　尾張徳川家　One of the three branch families of the Tokugawa house. Daimyo of the domain of Owari. Started by Ieyasu's fourth son Matsudaira Tadayoshi, then taken up by his ninth son Yoshitoshi. It was the wealthiest of the three Tokugawa branch famiilies and among the wealthiest domains in the country. They had the right to enter the Honmaru of Edo castle, and could become shogun if the main branch should fail. Their castle was place on top of the old Imagawa clan castle of Nagoya, which was completed in 1615. In 1633, it welcomes Iemtisu vist on his way to Kyoto to a new palace where a shogun could stay. This palace was painted by Kanō Tan'yū.

Prince Munetaka　宗尊親王　(1242-1274)　The sixth shogun of the Kamakura shogunate of Japan who reigned from 1252 to 1266. He was the first son of the Emperor Go-Saga and replaced the deposed Kujō Yoritsugu as shogun at the age of ten. He was a puppet ruler controlled by the Hōjō clan regents.

Richard Cocks　(566-1624)　The head of the British East India Company trading post in Hirado, Japan, between 1613 and 1623, from its creation, and lasting to its closure due to bankruptcy.

Saichō　最澄　(767-822)　Also called as Denkyō Daishi. Japanese Buddhist monk credited with founding the Tendai school of Buddhism, based on the Chinese Tiantai school. He studied Buddhism at Tōdai-ji, Nara. In 804, he was chosen to study Buddhism at Ming China. After his return, he founded Tendai sect at Mt. Hiei in 806. He was given a title of Denkyō Daishi 傳教大師, Great Master of Buddhist Teaching, by Emperor Seiwa 清和天皇 in 866. It was the first title which Daishi is given to a Japanese person, and only several other monks received this Daishi title, which includes Kūkai 空海 and Tenkai.

Sakanoue no Tamuramaro　坂上田村麻呂　(758-811)　A general and shogun who's title of Seii Taishōgun was given by the Imperial court for the first time in history. Active in the early Heian period of Japan. He was the son of Sakanoue no Karitamaro. He is said to help establish Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto.

Sanjōnishi Sanetaka　三条西実隆　(1455-1537)　An aristocrat who was active at the end of Muromachi period to the Sengoku period.

Sanmon Nankōbō　山門南光坊　See Tenkai

Sen no Rikyū　千利休　(1522-1591)　A tea master who established wabi cha. Although he was not a monk or samurai, he became influential to both religious and political figures. Hideyoshi made Rikyū as his tea master but later killed Rikyū.

Shinryūin Bonshun　神龍院梵舜　(1553-1632)　A Shinto priest. He was born in a Yoshida family who were Shinto priests. He then became a head monk for Toyokuni-shrine.

Shōtetsu　正徹　(1381-1459)　A Japanese poet during the Muromachi period, and is considered to have been the last poet in the courtly waka tradition, a number of his disciples were important in the development of the renga art form, which led to the haiku.

Shuchō　守澄法親王　(1634-1680)　A son of the already retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo 後水尾天皇.

Shu Shunsui　朱舜水　(1600-1682)　A Confucian scholar. He exiled to Japan after his attempt to recreate Ming dynasty. He was then invited by Tokugawa Mitsukuni and served for his Mito clan.

Sōami　相阿弥　(Date of birth unknown-1525)　A painter and landscape artist in the service of the Ashikaga shogunatewho is claimed to have designed the rock garden of the Ginkaku-ji.

Song Di　宋迪　(c.1015-c.1080)　A Chinese painter, government official as well as a poet. He was active during the Song dynasty and known as a creator of Eight Views of XiaoXiang.

*Sumiyoshi Gukei　住吉具慶　(*1631-1705*)*　A painter of the Sumiyoshi school, from the early Edo period. The Sumiyoshi were a branch of Tosa school brought to Edo by the Shogunate to be a rival school to both the Kanō and Tosa schools. They specialised in Yamato-e or Japanese style pictures. His most famous work are pictures of Kyoto known as *Rakūchu rakugai zu*.

Takatsukasa Masahiro　鷹司政熙　(1761-1841)　An aristocrat who held a regent position kanpaku 関白 from 1795 to1814.

Tarao Mitsutoshi　多羅尾光俊　(1514-1609)　A samurai who was active in Azuchi momoyama period. When Nobunaga was killed by Akechi Mitsuhide, Ieyasu needed to go through a risky path for his military maneuver and Tarao helped Ieyasu.

Tendai monk Kōben　公弁法親王　(1669-1716)　A son of Emperor Gonishi. He later became a head monk of Kan'ei-ji.

Tenkai　南光坊天海　(1536-1643)　A Tendai Buddhist monk of the Azuchi-Momoyama and early Edo period. He achieved the rank of Daisōjō 大僧正 and called as Jigen Daishi 慈眼大師, the highest rank of the priesthood. He also established Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō 山王一実神道. His birth palace is said to be from, Aizu, but its rather unclear. His used Zuifū as his first name, which he changed to Tenkai in 1590. He met Tokugawa Ieyasu at around 1590, after he moved to Kawagoe. Since he became the religious and

political brains of Tokugawa shogunate. He was appointed Head Abbot of Mount Nikkō in 1613. Upon Ieyasu's death in 1616, he conflicted with Bonshun of Shinryūin and Sūden of Konjiin. Both of them insisted on holding a funeral in the style of Yoshida Shintō. Tenkai prevailed in this conflict, and Ieyasu was consecrated and enshrined according to the rituals of Tendai Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō. When imperial permission was conferred on Ieyasu to receive the posthumous name Tōshō Daigongen, not inauspicious name of Daimyōjin which Hideyoshi was given, Tenkai assisted in transporting Ieyasu's remains to a mausoleum at Nikkō. He also worked to build the shrine Tōshō-gū there. In 1624, He asked Iemitsu, then third Tokugawa shogun to establish Kan'ei-ji at Ueno, Edo and was given the permission. When Shie incident occurred and a monk Takuan was accused, he and Hori Naoyori tried to ease the pressure. He compiled a history of the shrine called Tōshō Daigongen engi in 1639. He died in 1643, and was given the posthumous title Great Buddhist Master Jigen in 1648. His position as the head of Tendai sect is inherited by Imperial prince and it became the tradition durling the Edo period.

Tōdō Takatora　藤堂高虎　(1556-1630)　A daimyo of the Azuchi-Momoyama and Edo periods. Originally served Asai Nagamasa before entering the service of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. He served on the Tokugawa side at Sekigahara, and was in 1608 given a domain in Ise province (later called the domain of Tsu), and in retrun he served again in at the siege of Osaka castle, which he helped rebuild as a Tokugawa fortress. He also helped organised the building of Nikkō and escorted Tōfukumon'in from Edo to Kyoto before her marriage to Emperor Go-Mizunoo.

Tōfukumon'in　東福門院和子　See Tokugawa Kazuko

Tōin Kinkata　洞院公賢　(1291-1360)　An aristocrat who was in a very high ranked position in the Imperial court. His diary became one of the most trustful source of historical events of his time.

Tokugawa Hidetada　徳川秀忠　(1579-1632)　The second shogun of the Tokugawa dynasty, who ruled from 1605 until his abdication in 1623 in favour of his son Iemitsu. Although, by remaining in Edo he remained his force in goverment. He was the third son of Tokugawa Ieyasu. In 1620, he had his daughter Kazuko then Tōfukumon'in to marry Emperor Go-mizunoo, and pushed Meisho's ascension to conclusion. In 1622, he gave his support to Tenkai's suggestion of building Kan'ei-ji temple in Ueno. In 1626, he went with Iemitsu to Kyoto to where at Nijō castle Go-Mizunoo paid them a honoraly vist, for which the still standing Ninomaru palace was built, with its paintings by Kanō Tan'yū and his pupils.

Tokugawa Iemitsu　徳川家光　(1604-1651)　The third shogun of the Tokugawa dynasty. He was the eldest son of Tokugawa Hidetada, and the grandson of Tokugawa Ieyasu. His mother was a daughter of Asai Nagamasa. Most famous in the West for consiladting the policies known as Sakoku against christianity, foriegn travel and foriegn trade against tensions like the 1637 Shimabara rebellion. He builds

Nikko Tōshō-gū in current location, and moves Ieyasu body there from Suruga Tōshō-gū at Kunōzan in 1634 and had rebuilt in 1636. He visted it some 9 times. In 1646, he also had the first Imperial scion sent to Nikkō as its head priest.

Tokugawa Ieyasu　徳川家康　(1543-1616)　The founder and first shogun of the Tokugawa shogunate of Japan; which effectively started to ruled Japan from the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 until the Meiji Restoration in 1868. He was born to the Matsudaira, the leading warrior family of Mikawa province in central Japan, subordinate to the Imagawa of Tōtōmi with whom Ieyasu spent much of his childhood. After the death of Imagawa Yoshimoto in 1560 at Oda Nobunaga's hands, he allied with Nobunaga and consolidated his rule over Mikawa and Suruga. He remained a subordinate ally until Nobunaga's death. He briefly challenged Hideyoshi ascendancy in 1584, before joining Hideyoshi's campaigns of unification, including the Kantō campaign of 1590 where Hideyoshi had him give up his traditional lands in exchange for provinces of Kantō. Ieyasu chose Edo castle as his base for his new centred domain. After Hideyoshi's death in 1598, he was one of the five regents. Competition between the regents led to the war of 1600 where Ieyasu led the Eastern Army to victory at Sekigahara, he gained supreme power confirmed in his ascension to the Shogunate in 1603 and his defeat of the Toyotomi in 1615 at Osaka castle, made his clan complete grasp of power over other daimyo. In 1616, he retired in favour of his son Hidetada to his castle of Sunpu.

Tokugawa Kazuko　徳川和子　(1607-1678)　Also known as Masako, was an empress consort of Japan. Her name changes upon her marriage to then Emperor Go-Mizunoo to Tōfukumon'in. She was the daughter of Tokugawa Hidetada, who was the second shogun of the Edo period. Althoght she had four children including two boys, they both died when they were still very young. Therefore her eldest daughter became Empress Meishō. She played a crucial role to hermonise relationship between the Imperial court and Tokugawa shogunate.

Tokugawa Tsunayoshi　徳川綱吉　1646-1709　The fifth shogun of the Tokugawa dynasty of Japan. He was the younger brother of Tokugawa Ietsuna, thus making him the son of Tokugawa Iemitsu, the grandson of Tokugawa Hidetada, and the great-grandson of Tokugawa Ieyasu.

Tokugawa Yorifusa　徳川頼房　(1603-1661)　Also known as Mito Yorifusa, was a Japanese daimyo of the early Edo period who founded the Mito domain branch of the Tokugawa (one of the three branches of hte Tokguwa). He was Ieyasu's 11th son. He built Mito castle, and its downtown. He encourged minign, agricutlure confucianism and shinto studies. He also famous for building in 1629 for Tokugawa Iemitsu a garden konwn as Koishikawa Kōrakuen, that stands to this day.

Tokugawa Yorinobu　徳川頼宣　(1602-1671)　A daimyo of the early Edo He also within Edo build period, the 10th son of Tokugawa Ieyasu. He in 1619 recived the Kii domain south of Osaka, and founded

one of the three branch houses of the Tokugawa. As advisors. He instituted a number of reforms to placate rampant numbers of *rōnin* and village unrest, bringing in a number of noted Confucian experts.

Toyotomi Hideyori　豊臣秀頼　(1593-1615) The son and designated successor of Toyotomi Hideyoshi after the 1595 death of Hidetsugu. His mother Yodod was a daughter of Asai Nagamasa who was killed by Nobunaga. Upon Hideyoshi's death in 1598, he resided in Osaka castle as the five regents to control of government. In 1600, saw Ieyasu win the contest among them, which saw his personal lands retricted to the provinces around Osaka. He married Hidetada's daughter Tenjuin in 1603, but relations detriorated with infringements like the bell incident of 1614 where Hideyori's attempts to honor his father with a giant bell for the Great Buddha hall of Hōkō-ji invoked Ieyasu's ire. Open war followed with the siege of Osaka castle in 1615 which ended with his suicide amid defeat. He had his own children but they were all killed by the Tokugawa after his death therefore led the end Toyotomi clan.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi　豊臣秀吉　(1536-1598) A preeminent daimyo, warrior, general, samurai, and politician of the Sengoku period who is regarded as Japan's second 'great unifier' after Oda Nobunaga. Born of commonor stock in Owari, but through skill rose through the ranks of Nobunaga's forces, rising to Daimyo status in 1573, and was given command of Oda's western front in the early 1580's against the Moōri clan. On Nobunaga's death, he led those forces to avenge him and kill Akechi Mitsuhide. He then managed to gain ascendancy over the Oda coaltion, defeating Shibata Katsuie and negotiating submission from Ieyasu by the end of 1584. He then led successful campaigns to conquer Shikoku (1585), Kyūshū (1587) and eastern Japan in 1591, resulting in the unifcation of Japan. He then began a massive series of reforms, the first anti-Christian edicts, a national cadastral survey, seperation of warriors and commoners and disarming of the countryside. He had himself recognised as a decendant of Fujiwara clan and became chief minister to the court and then regent, *Kanpaku*. Then between 1592 to 1598, he launched a failed campaign to conquer China via Korea before dying in 1598. He also built two grand headquarters in the Home provinces, Osaka castle completed in 1588, and Fushimi or Momoyama castle in the southern outskirts of Kyoto in 1596. He was eager to complete his own Hōkō-ji and its Great Buddha in Kyoto but failed due to his death.

Utagawa Hiroshige　歌川広重　(1797-1858) A Japanese ukiyo-e artist of the late Edo period. Of Samurai stocks, specfically fire control. He drew on Kanō, Nanga, Maruyama-Shijō and Western paitnign style to make his famous landscape prints like 53 Stations along the Tōkaidō road where he depicted in 53 coloured single sheet woodblock prints the famous road along the eastern coast of Japan from Edo to Kyoto.

Uesugi Kenshin　上杉謙信　(1530-1578) A daimyo who was born as Nagao Kagetora, and after the adoption into the Uesugi clan, ruled Echigo province in the Sengoku period.

Yoshida family　*吉田家*　A family who based in Kyoto and established Yoshida Shinto theory.

Yoshida Kanemi　*吉田兼見*　*(1535-1610)*　A Shinto priest based in Kyoto.

Timeline of Historical Events

1568: Oda Nobunaga enters Kiyomizu-dera, Kyoto, with Ashikaga Yoshiaki to become a new Ashikaga shogun.

1571: Nobunaga attacks rebels at Mt. Hiei.

1573: Nobunaga expells Ashikaga Yoshiaki from Kyoto, realistically it meant the end of Ashikaga shogunate. Also prior to this event, he set fire to the upper part of Kyoto.

1575: Nobunaga's rank in the order of Imperial Court becomes higher than Yoshiaki.

1576: Nobunaga builds Azuchi castle.

1582: Nobunaga dies at Honnō-ji incident. Imperial Court gives position of Daijō Daijin, Chancellor of the Realm, to Nobunaga.

1583: Hideyoshi starts to build Osaka castle.

1586: Hideyoshi is appointed as Daijō Daijin. Also, Hideyoshi is given a new Surname, Toyotomi, by Emperor Ōgimachi. Emperor Go-Yōzei enthroned after Emperor Ōgimachi.

1587: Completion of Jurakudai palace.

1588: Emperor Go-Yōzei visits Hideyoshi's Jurakudai palace (re-visits in 1592). Ashikaga Yoshiaki returns to his position as Seii Taishōgun, marking the official end of the Ashikaga shogunate.

1590: Ieyasu enters Edo. Taking control of religious institutions in Kantō region, including restoration work of Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū. Sen no Rikyū dies by the hand of Hideyoshi.

1591: Hideyoshi builds Odoi dike.

1596: Imperial Court appoints Ieyasu as Naidaijin, Inner Minister. Devastating earthquake hits Kinai region.

1598: Hideyoshi dies at the age of 61.

1599: Imperial Court gives a deified name to Hideyoshi.

1600: Tokugawa and his allies win the Battle of Sekigahara.

1603: Imperial Court appoints Ieyasu as Seii Taishōgun, together with Udaijin, Minister of Right. Ieyasu visits the Imperial Palace. Hideyoshi's son, Hideyori, marries the daughter of Tokugawa Hidetada.

1604: The expansion of Edo castle starts.

1605: Ieyasu announces his retirement and passes his Seii Taishōgun position to Hidetada therefore, he becames the second Tokugawa shogun. Imperial Court appoints Toyotomi Hideyori as Udaijin, Minister of Right, due to Ieyasu's retirement.

1606: Completion of Edo castle's main enclosure.

1614: First Siege of Osaka occurs.

1615: Second Siege of Osaka occurs and as consequence, Toyotomi clan is perished. Tokugawa issue a law against the Imperial Court as well as one against the samurai class and religious institutions.

1616: Ieyasu dies at the age of 75. Imperial Court appoints Ieyasu as Daijō Daijin a few weeks before his death.

1617: Imperial Court gives a deified name to Ieyasu.

1620: Hidetada's daughter marries Emperor Go-mizunoo.

1623: Hidetada abdicates as the second Tokugawa shogun in favour of his son, Iemitsu. Both of them travel to Kyoto for this occasion.

1626: Hidetada and now the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu travel to Kyoto again. Emperor Go-mizunoo officially visits them at their Nijō castle.

1627: *Shie Jiken* occurs.

1629: Emperor Go-mizunoo abdicates to then Emperess Meisho.

1632: Former shogun Hidetada dies at the age of 54.

1634: Iemitsu travels to Kyoto. Edo castle's Nishinomaru wing is burnt down. Iemitsu orders a major upscaling of Nikkō Tōshō-gū.

1635: Reconstruction and expansion of the Edo castle starts.

1636: Completion of the new Nikkō Tōshō-gū.

1637: Shimabara Rebellion occurs.

1638: Completion of castle tower at Edo castle.

1642: Kan'ei famine reaches its height.

1643: Tenkai dies at, what is said to be, the age of 108.

1651: Iemitsu dies at the age of 48. His son, Ietsuna is appointed as Seii Taishōgun at the age of 11, and became the fourth Tokugawa shogun. Tokugawa received this appointment at Edo for the first time.

1657: Great Fire of Meireki occurs.

Timeline of Places

MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

KYOTO　京都

Mt. Hiei Enryaku-ji　比叡山延暦寺

· Early Heian period – Enryaku-ji is founded.

· Late 16th to the early 17th century – The existing structure dates to this period.

Both Toyotomi and Tokugawa supported Mt. Hiei for its restoration of damaged structures as well as building new structures.

· 1631 - Severe typhoon made main religious structures collapsed.

· 1642 - Main structures were re-established by Tokugawa shogunate's support.

Hiyoshi Taisha　日吉大社

· 8th century - First appearance in *Kojiki.*

· 1571 – Enryaku-ji, together with all buildings, was burnt down by Oda Nobunaga. Existing buildings were constructed in the last quarter of the 16th century.

1586 - Hideyoshi supported to rebuilt main religious structures.

Mt Atago　愛宕神社

· Between 701 to 704 – A monk Taichō and Enno Ozunu established a shrine.

· 781 – Wake no Kiyomaro built a temple to worship Atago Daigongen.

· 1582 – In the fifth month of 1582 Akechi Mitsuhide visited Atago shrine and read *waka* poems.

EDO 江戸

Kan'ei-ji 寛永寺

· 1622 – The land Kan'ei-ji was built.

· 1625 – Kan'ei-ji is founded by Tenkai. The main temple was built and several other halls were built afterwards.

· 1627 – Tōshō-gū, Jōgyō-dō, Hokke-dō, Rinzō, Tahou-tō and Niō-mon were completed.

· 1630 – Shaka-dō was completed.

· 1631 – The five-story pagoda, bell tower, Daibutsu, Gion-dō and Kiyomizu Kannon-dō were completed.

· 1634 – Keiji-dō, Sannō-sha and Honchi-dō were completed.

· 1657 – Many buildings were destroyed by the Great Meireki fire.

· 1697 – The main hall of Kan'ei-ji, Konpon Chū-dō, was finished.

· 1698 – The compound's main hall is completed.

Hie Shrine 日枝神社

· 1604 – Tokugawa Ieyasu moves Hie shrine in to the city of Edo.

· 1657 – During the Great Fire of Meireki Hie shrine was burnt down.

· 1659 – Hie shrine was rebuilt.

· 1958 – The present structure date from this year.

Mt Atago　愛宕神社

· 1603 – Tokugawa Ieyasu ordered to establish Atago shrine.

· 1615 – The main hall, smaller buildings and gates are completed.

· 1627 – There was a fire at Mt. Atago, but the damaged areas were restored by the shogunate's funding

· 1634 – When Tokugawa Iemitsu visited Zōjō-ji, he passed Atago shrine, a samurai, Magaki Heikurō climbed the steep steps by riding a horse.

KIYOMIZU

KYOTO　京都

Kiyomizu-dera　清水寺

· 778 – Kiyomizu-dera is founded by Sakanoue no Tamuramaro.

· 798 – The construction of the halls was completed and the history of Kiyomizu-dera began.

· 1165 – In the process of an attack in, which was first caused by territorial dispute between Kiyomizu-dera and Gion-sha, Kiyomizu-dera burned down on the ninth day of the 8th month.

· 1469 – Kiyomizu-dera was set on fire by Hosokawa Katsumoto.

· 1629 – Kiyomizu-dera had its final and most devastating fire.

· 1631 – Iemitsu gave the order to rebuild the Kyoto Kiyomizu-dera.

· 1633 – The reconstruction project was completed.

EDO　江戸

Kiyomizu-dō　清水堂

- 1631 – Kiyomizu-dō is completed.
- 1698 – The original buildings were damaged by fire and because of that it was moved to its current location on the west side of Mt. Suribachi.

Kiyomizu at Kōrakuen　小石川後楽園清水

- 1629 – Tokugawa Hidetada gave land to Tokugawa Yorifusa. Yorifusa ordered to build Kōrakuen.
- 1640 – Hayashi Razan visited Kōrakuen and recorded that there are Otowa, Kiyomizu-dera, as well as Atago.
- 1665 – Razan's son, Hayashi Gahō visited the garden and praised its view to Yorifusa's son, Mitsukuni. Shu Shunsui also visited the garden and left similar comment.
- 1703 – The garden is damaged by earthquake.

DAIBUTSU

KYOTO　京都

Great Buddha at Hōkō-ji　方広寺大仏

- 1586 – Hideyoshi ordered the building of a Daibutsu on his way to Osaka from Kyoto, which appeared in a diary called *Kanemi Kyōki*.

· 1588 – The construction of the Daibutsu had started.

· 1589 – In the eighth month of this year Ieyasu was asked to provide wood from Mt. Fuji, which was ultimately used to make a pillar at the Daibutsu.

· 1591 – In the fifth month of this year the building of the Great Buddha Hall started.

· Between 1593 to 1596 – The Great Buddha and its hall is completed.

· 1596 – An earthquake caused the Great Buddha to collapse.

· 1600 – On the tenth month of this year the construction of another Great Buddha therefore started.

· 1602 – A fire at the Hōkō-ji temple complex occurred which meant that the Daibutsu, which was still in the process of being cast, burned down.

· 1610 – In the sixth month of this year Hideyori restarted the project of reconstructing the Daibutsu.

· 1612 – The Great Buddha hall and the Daibutsu itself were finally completed.

· 1662 – The Daibutsu was damaged by an earthquake.

· 1667 – The Daibutsu was recreated in wood.

EDO　江戸

Great Buddha at Kan'ei-ji　寛永寺大仏

· 1631 – The Daibutsu was donated to Kan'ei-ji by Hori Naoyori and was completed in the tenth month.

· 1647 – The Daibutsu was destroyed by an earthquake.

· Between 1655 to 1660 - According to *Ueno Daibutsu Ryakushi* Daibutsu was replaces with a bronze Great Buddha.

· 1698 – A Tendai monk Kōben built the Great Buddha Hall at Kan'ei-ji.

· 1841 – The Great Buddha Hall at Kan'ei-ji caught fire and burned down. Two years later, the Hori clan restored both the Daibutsu and it hall.

NARA　奈良

Great Buddha at Tōdai-ji　東大寺大仏

· 741 – Daibutsu in Tōdai-ji, Nara was commissioned by the reigning Emperor Shōmu (701-756).

· 743 – The initial work of the statue began in Shigarakinomiya.

· 751 – The Great Buddha was finally completed.

· 752 – The Eye Opening Ceremony celebrating the completion of the Great Buddha was held.

· 855 – The head of Daibutsu suddenly fell to the ground and gifts from the pious throughout the empire were collected to create another, more well seated head for the restored Daibutsu.

· 1180 – The Great Buddha and its hall were devastated by fire.

· 1567 – The Great Buddha and its hall were devastated by fire.

· 1610 – The Great Buddha Hall collapsed by typhoon.

· 1691 – A monk from Tōdai-ji was given permission from the Tokugawa shogunate to restore the damaged Daibutsu and restoration of the statue is completed.

KAMAKURA　鎌倉

Great Buddha at Kamakura　鎌倉大仏

· 1195 – Minamoto no Yoritomo attended an inauguration ceremony and an eye-opening ceremony at the restored Great Buddha Hall.

· 1238 – In *Azuma Kagami* the first appearance of the wooden Daibutsu is on the 3rd months.

- 1243 – A giant wooden Daibutsu was completed after ten years of continuous labor.
- 1248 – That wooden statue was damaged by a storm.
- 1334 – The hall was destroyed by a storm and also rebuilt.
- 1369 – It was damaged by yet another storm and was rebuilt again.
- 1495 – The Great Buddha and its hall were hit by a tsunami.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT MATTER

1.1 Introduction

Painting is a useful medium when someone wants to express their desires. In the mid-16th to the early 17th century Japan, painting played an important role in visualising the ruler's idealised city. This newly-created city of Edo 江戸, the seat of the new ruler Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616), became one of the largest cities in the world within a century of its foundation.[1] Many buildings were constructed in the new city, including housing complexes, shops, bridges and a castle. The paintings used in this thesis give us an insight into how these new constructions fitted into the narrative of the city.

My thesis will focus on the way Edo used both religious architecture and paintings as a means of utilising the city to demonstrate the power of Shogun's own city of the time. My thesis will also investigate the relationship between newly created architecture and paintings of Edo which in many cases were based upon styles that formerly existed in Kyoto 京都, the capital city, in the time frame of this thesis. For this purpose, I will pay particular attention to the significant role played by religious architecture in both cities, as well as in some cases examine those architecture sites that existed in Nara 奈良 and Kamakura 鎌倉, through emphasis on its transformation of function and the role played by politics in this process, as well as how paintings represented this process.

This chapter will first address the matter of focus, where it also states the hypothesis, questions, methods and the aims of the thesis. It will also explore the definition and theories of copying that surrounds the concept of architectural copying in Japan together with the practice of copying that was exercised outside of Japan. It will also examine the different views of various scholars regarding Japanese cities, together with introducing historical documents which are going to be used in this thesis and then move on to discuss the basic foundation of the two cities on which this thesis will focus – Kyoto and Edo. In addition, the general understanding and approach to religion and its institutions and architecture in the time of mid-16th century to the second half of the 17th century will be discussed. I will also analyse how

[1] Hamano Kiyoshi, 2011. *Rekishijinkōgaku de yomu Edonihon*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p.23

Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598) and the Tokugawa shogunate viewed and used religion during the time period on which this thesis focuses. This analysis is followed by an introduction of the visual materials which are drawn upon in this thesis. The general characteristics and the development of these visual materials need to be discussed in this chapter as these materials will appear in various sections in the following chapters.

1.1.1 Matter of focus

In the mid-16th to the mid-17th century religious sites were copied and built into different locations by authorities of the time. This act of copying which was led by authorities was politically motivated in order to make their ruling power look legitimate. This political use of religious sites at the time can be seen in visual materials that were also made in the same time period, and since many sites of both originals and replicas have not survived until the present day, in order to know how it was understood by people of the time as well as the authorities of the time, we need to examine these visual materials together with other historical sources. Thus, one of the aims of this thesis is to unveil the political intensions of copying religious sites from Kyoto through using visual materials.

The questions of the thesis are firstly to examine what copying and replication is, how it was used by the authorities of the time, understating the relationship between religion and authority, analysing the chosen religious sites for this thesis and to understand the characteristics of visual materials which portray them.

As there is no known, extensive research on my chosen subject, the idea behind it seemed fascinating in order to understand the significance of copying in the mid-16th to the early-17th century and the strategical actions made by the rulers of the time which in a way, helped to establish their own legitimacy and power.

In order to emphasise and clarify the issue of architectural replicas, the following three chapters will focus on specific examples of religious architecture which were copied in 17th century Edo based upon the understanding of the concepts which will be examined in this chapter. Religious architecture is well suited for this purpose on account of its scale: unlike urban dwellings, large-scale architecture tends to survive longer than urban dwellings, and the

original and the copy are easier to distinguish because of the distinct nature of such projects. These religious buildings have their own distinct, recognisable features, such as the shape of their roofs and terraced structure as well as the geographical features and writings, names located at the sites, which makes it simpler to identify what has been copied and from which original structure. Moreover, the nature of these religious sites and connections between religious orders makes it easier to trace back that which has been copied to its source.

In the case of religious buildings which have been copied by different religious sects to that which built the original, we are led to question why that would have taken place. Another interesting aspect of religious architecture is that due to the public nature of religious sites, they tend to have more substantial historical evidence for their existence at different points in time than, for example, the private mansion of a daimyo. Some examples of copied religious architecture in Edo survive today in modern Tokyo, for example a part of Zōjō-ji, Nezu shrine, a few Edo castle gates, Asakusa shrine, a part of Kan'ei-ji and other sites which will be mentioned further in the thesis.

There is a further, economic aspect to the usefulness of religious architecture for the purposes of this thesis, which lies in the fact that these large public work projects required funding by both the shogunate and, in some cases, powerful individuals. The governmental funding for these works of copied and original religious architecture reveals their direct link to the authorities, and gives us an opportunity to analyse the political motivations behind funding these, often half-public, half-state owned and expensive, works of architecture.

This economical aspect is not only helpful and supportive to the argument, but also reveals certain facts which cannot otherwise be shown through looking at visual materials. This is because, some of the religious works and architecture cited are no longer standing or observable, and being able to refer to paintings from the mid-16th century to the second half of the 17th century which depict this vanished structure is valuable. As this thesis will also go on to explain in more detail, these paintings provide more clues on what architecture meant and how it was appreciated by the authorities of the time as well as how it was understood in a social context. As a result of analysing both paintings and architecture, the two mediums appear to have built up a tangible relationship to each other, which will contribute to a clearer vision of how the dynamics of capital design in Edo were intended to function by the

authorities of the time. To do so, extensive research on how the original religious sites in Kyoto have been justified in the context of the capital of Japan will also be presented.

This thesis will also use various historical documents frequently, in order to understand how people of the time perceived religion, authorities and other phenomena. Sometimes these records are taking the form of a diary, such as *Gien Jūgō Nikki*, and in other cases it is taking the form of poetry such as *Kanginshū*. By making these documents, literal works or records, it is obvious that these were not meant to be used for an academic purpose but these authors intended them to be either privately read or served for different purposes. Therefore, these are often expressing one's personal view which means they were not afraid of sounding biased and didn't necessarily need or want take an objective stance to the historical events. This type of biased view is apparent in the case of public records, such as *Tokugawa Jikki* 徳川実紀 which records various events during the Edo period. This is obviously because these records that have an official characteristic do not intend to portray a negative side of the events. Even more, some of these records or publication might well exaggerate or make up stories in order to either praise a particular group of people or to degrade particular individuals. Therefore, this thesis draws attention to not only introducing these documents which take a strong political stance or tell a story which does not seem realistic. Though, in some cases, these biased documents are useful to understand what were the either authorities or other authors idealised stories that they wanted its readers to believe. This is almost exactly the same way as the information paintings could provide at the time. Therefore, these historical documents appear in some sections of the thesis.

In order to highlight the significant nature of the act of copying religious architecture and its artistic representation in paintings, that were both exercised by the authorities of the time between mid-16th century to the mid-17th century. To examine the above, this thesis will focus on three themes – mountain landscape, famous places and monuments which are represented in the following chapters as Mountain Landscape, Kiyomizu 清水 and Daibutsu 大仏. In the Chapter 2 entitled "Mountain Landscape" a total of six religious sites will be examined: Mt. Hiei 比叡, Hiyoshi Taisha 日吉大社, Mt. Atago 愛宕, Tōeizan Kan'ei-ji 東叡山寛永寺, Hiyoshi Sannō 日吉山王 and Atago Gongen 愛宕権現. The former three are the original sites in Kyoto and latter three are sites which have been copied into Edo.

The next chapter, Kiyomizu, will examine both Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto and Kiyomizu-dō which is located within Kan'ei-ji. These religious sites also have a relationship between the original and the copy with the copied Kiyomizu at Koishikawa Kōrakuen garden 小石川後楽園 in Edo.

The Daibutsu chapter will focus on the Hōkō-ji 方広寺 Daibutsu at Kyoto and the copied Daibutsu within the Kan'ei-ji compound in Edo. It also introduces the Daibutsu in Tōdai-ji 東大寺, Nara together with the Great Buddha in Kamakura 鎌倉市.

1.1.2 Definitions and Theories of Copying

There are numerous books and articles that discuss Japanese architecture, and they all describe a certain degree of uniqueness that Japanese architecture possesses. However, there is one crucial element that seems to be insufficiently explored; the aesthetics of the 'copying' in Japanese architecture. This thesis will therefore examine this concept and how it is understood by the Japanese. In order to maintain the quality of discussion, this thesis will only focus on particular religious architectural sites. I have selected religious architecture as the subject of analysis because it represents one of the most essential characteristics of the unique concept of the 'architectural copy' in Japan. Obviously, the terms 'Japan' and 'Japanese' can be seen as complex and controversial definitions to use. Thus, to avoid confusion, this paper must require its reader to accept a rather simplified definition of Japan and its people through its geographical territory. This is more or less the same, but a slightly smaller territory than modern day territory of Japan.

In regards to architectural copy, from today's point of view something unusual happened when Edo was created. These took place at the hands of the new shogunate without ever being officially announced to the public. Furthermore, we do not really know how those in power decided on this method at the time. This had a significant impact on not only inhabitants of Edo at the time, but also on those living in modern-day Tokyo. This was something with great scope for examination, yet its existence has not been closely looked at. This unusual aspect is the use of copied architecture.

There are many buildings in modern-day Tokyo that were copied from an original site, often in Kyoto, and rebuilt in the new city of Edo. This act of copying architecture was conducted mostly by the Tokugawa shogunate, and its peak was at the beginning of the Edo period (1603 and 1868), when Edo was establishing itself as a new city. Of the structures that were copied, several came from the capital of Kyoto, and all of them originally had religious significance. Many of these works of architecture cost a great sum of money to construct, required much bureaucratic administration and necessitated large numbers of workers spending years on their construction. The question is: what need did this new-born city have for copied architecture over new architecture that belonged to the city alone?

Before tackling this question directly, one has to consider another important point, which is the complex issue of copying itself. Hillel Schwartz states in his volume on the subject, *The Culture of Copy*, that:

> "'Our history', says the firm of Pierre Vuitton, 'is a history of being copied.' I second that. Copying is what we are now about. [...] In our post-industrial age, the copy is at once degenerate and regenerate."[2]

This quote refers to the recent situation in Western or westernised countries, yet the same could be said in the context of 17th century Japanese city planning. It should here be noted that the notion of copying in this situation refers more to a process of inspiration than an intention to create an exact copy. When the word 'copy' is applied to architecture, it normally refers to an attempt to create something that looks exactly the same as the original yet may not be an entirely faithful duplication on the inside.

Copy

Noun
The word 'copy' is defined as follows: 1. A thing made to be similar or identical to another. 2. A single specimen of a particular book, record, or other publication or issue. 3. *[mass noun]* Matter to be printed.

[With subject]

1. Make a similar or identical version of; reproduce.

1.1 *Computing* Reproduce (data stored in one location) in another location.

[2]Hillel Schwartz, 1996. *The Culture of Copy.* New York: Zone Books, p.257.

1.2 Write out information that one has read or heard.

1.3 Send a copy of a letter or an email to (a third party)

1.4 Send someone a copy of an email that is addressed to a third party.

2. Imitate the style or behaviour of.

3. *[no object]* Hear or understand someone speaking on a radio transmitter.

Origin

Middle English (denoting a transcript or copy of a document): from Old French copie (noun), copier (verb), from Latin copia abundance (in medieval Latin transcript, from such phrases as copiam describendi facere give permission to transcribe).

Replication

Noun

1. *[mass noun]* The action of copying or reproducing something.

1.1 *[count noun]*A copy.

1.2 The repetition of a scientific experiment or trial to obtain a consistent result.

1.3 The process by which genetic material or a living organism gives rise to a copy of itself.

2. *Law dated* A plaintiff's reply to the defendant's plea.

Origin

Late Middle English: from Old French replicacion, from Latin replicatio(n-), from replicare fold back, repeat, later ‘make a reply’(see replicate).

Replicate

Verb

[With object]

1. Make an exact copy of; reproduce.

1.1 (of genetic material or a living organism) reproduce or give rise to a copy of itself.

1.2 Repeat (a scientific experiment or trial) to obtain a consistent result.

Adjective

1. *[attributive]* Of the nature of a copy.

1.1 Of the nature of a repetition of a scientific experiment or trial.

Noun

1. A close or exact copy; a replica.

1.1 A repeated experiment or trial.

2. *Music* A tone one or more octaves above or below the given tone.

Origin

Late Middle English (in the sense 'repeat'): from Latin replicat-, from the verb replicare, from re- back, again + plicare to fold. The current senses date from the late 19th century.

Reconstruction

Noun

1. [mass noun] The action or process of reconstructing or being reconstructed.

1.1 [count noun]A thing that has been rebuilt after being damaged or destroyed.

1.2 [count noun]An impression, model, or re-enactment of a past event formed from the available evidence.

2. The period 1865–77 following the American Civil War, during which the southern states of the Confederacy were controlled by federal government and social legislation, including the granting of new rights to black people, was introduced.[3]

While the word 'reconstruction' in contemporary understanding is to re-create either destroyed, vanished or non-surviving mass of a property for interpretive purposes. Therefore, this word does not serve to explain how these authorities copy or replicate sacred sites that this thesis will examine.[4] (See Chapter 2)

Coming back to the above mentioned, the first definition seems suitable, yet somehow misses a crucial point in terms of the intentions behind these structures. As will be further explained, the process of constructing works in Edo based on original works in Kyoto went beyond taking the original as a model. Rather, the aim appears to have been to transpose the spirit and significance of the original architecture. The word 'emulate' might be appropriate; however, the way in which the shogunate behaved in relation to the copied works of architecture was far from a simple act of emulation. They went beyond this by behaving as if they had a right to appropriate the essence of the originals as part of their own self-confident assertion of legitimacy. These were no mere acts of 'mimicry', as the new shogunate took this course of copying architecture certainly not through a lack of imagination of their own, and without the intention of debasing the originals. Therefore, their process of *copying* architecture

[3] *Reconstruction*, Oxford Dictionaries. [Online] Available from: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/reconstruction [Accessed: 14 July 2015]

[4] [Online] Available from: https://www.wbdg.org/design/historic_pres.php [Accessed: 26th March 2016]

is meaningful in ways which cannot be covered by a single definition. More descriptive words such as 'echo' or 'resonance' may be more appropriate.

According to some Western intellectuals, the concept of copying is something distasteful. In his *Critique of Judgement*, written in 1790, Immanuel Kant points out that true fine art shows evidence of the existence of a kind of people who make new rules for the art form. He refers to a person who does this as a *Genius*:

> "Seeing, then, that the natural endowment of art (as fine art) must furnish the rule, what kind of rule must this be? It cannot be one set down in a formula and serving as a precept-for then the judgment upon the beautiful would be determinable according to concepts. Rather must the rule be gathered from the performance, i.e., from the product, which others may use to put their own talent to the test, so as to let it serve as a model, not for imitation, but for following."[5]

According to Kant's perception of art, it is inevitable to view the act of copy or imitation as a negative act and something that therefore should not be performed. This is similar to what Oscar Wilde stated in his work *The New Aesthetics*, when he commented that there is not one piece of art that defines the period in which it was created, but if one sees art in such a manner then he must be looking at schools of art.[6] Although these comments are applied to the field of fine art, one can claim that this same understanding can be created in the field of architecture.

These perceptions towards copying are not the only opinions to be found. In *The Culture of the Copy*,[7] Hillel Schwartz analyses this broad culture. The work displays his ideas, which are different from Kant's theory; such as introducing doppelgangers and the metaphysical mirror theory. However, even Schwartz does not deny the fact that, when there is a work that stands out prominently, that is where the praise starts – which can possibly even progress to the process of copying.

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[5] Immanuel Kant, 1997. 'Art and Genius' In Susan Feagin and Patrick Maynard (eds.) 1998. *Aesthetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.184

[6] Oscar Wilde, 1997. 'The New Aesthetics' In Susan Feagin and Patrick Maynard (eds.) 1998. *Aesthetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.40-45

[7] Hillel Schwartz, 1996. *The Culture of the Copy*

There is no doubt that architectural copies have at times, to some degree, been accepted on the same level as the imitation. People know Greek architecture largely through Roman copies. The Romans seem to have been accepting of this act of architectural copy. Contrary to popular belief, it was not the Medieval Christian scholars that made the act of copying something to be ashamed of, but rather this disdain for imitation is more modern. Wim Denslagen [8] describes how Carolingian culture copied Roman originals in his article, *Architectural Imitations in European History*, and explains that the importance of the imitated architecture was not appreciated. He states, "Historicist architecture was simply not taken seriously".[9]

The concept of art, and the functional role of the copy as a reaction to the original, is not so very different in Japan. There have been Japanese artists over the ages who due to their natural talent, have led to the redefinition of art. However, the attitude towards the act of copying is completely different which will be examined throughout the thesis. In terms of the architectural practice of copying or reproduction, the above way of architectural "copying" in a Western sense seems to be possible in an area where people have a stone-based architectural culture, and are not threatened by heavy earthquakes or an extreme level of humidity. It is impossible for Japan to fulfil these conditions, as builders have to use wood for the construction of architecture. Japan also faces the constant risk of large-scale earthquakes, which makes the use of heavy stone structure unwise, and its humidity and high levels of rain shortens the life of wood.

There are different definitions in Japanese terms for both 'copy' and 'replication', which are as follows:

Kopi`i コピー- normally this word is used for duplication, reproduction and printing paper or material. But in advertisement it has another meaning as text in advertisement.[10]

Kopi`i

1. To duplicate and to reproduce,

[8]Wim Denslagen, 2005. 'Architectural Imitations in European History' In Wim Denslagen and Niels Gutschow (eds.) *Architectural Imitations: Reproduction and Pastiches in East and West*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, p.29-30
[9]Ibid., p.47
[10]Dictionary, 1984. *Nihon daihyakka zensho*, Tokyo: Shogakukan

2. An object which was meant to look like the original,
3. Catchphrase of an advertisement or an explanatory text.[11]

Fukusei 複製

To create an object which is similar to the original and the object itself. In art works copying, imitation and reproduction have been practiced by someone who is different to the maker of the original works through using similar technological means. This "kopi`i" has both an artistic and an academic value when the original has been lost, such as the Greek statues which were replicated by Romans. Also it is a crucial way to inform people when the original cannot be observed, such as mural paintings at Takamatsuzuka tumulus.[12]

The meaning behind 'copy' and 'replication' from the point of view of both – Japanese and Western sources indicate that both terms fundamentally have very similar explanations. The only subtle difference which I can point out is that 'replication' in a sense has more of a background story mainly about the action behind it. 'Copying' is more of a technical and blunt task where 'replication' includes the same task, but also includes the people and reason behind it.

And as both words are very similar, in my thesis I am going to be using them as synonyms in order to avoid repetition. Also, if I would choose only one of them, I need a strong argument why that particular synonym is my choice, but considering both reasons explained previously, it would be impossible to choose this for my thesis.

As a clarification I would also like to add that there is no escape from using both words in the present day sense prior to the meaning behind them in the Edo period. In this thesis I am using both 'copy' and 'replication' as we understand them right now and not in the mindset of Japanese people of the timeframe of my thesis.

[11] Akira Matsumura (ed.) 2006.*Daijirin*. Sanseidō Shoten
[12] Dictionary, 1984. *Nihon daihyakka zensho*, Tokyo: Shogakukan

Of course it is difficult to certainly know the meaning behind both words in the sense of Japanese people during the Edo period, but I will examine this throughout my thesis in order to strengthen the argument behind this work.

Certainly though, this act of copying or replication process which occurred in the second half of the 17th century to the first half of the 18th century is one of the core interests in this research. Therefore, it is important to mention here that my usage of both terms throughout this paper is mainly used as a tool to understand the attitude of people in Japan towards copy and replication.

A Japanese poetical concept may be linked to how the Japanese understood the act of copying. The concept, or method, is called *honkadori* 本歌取り, which will be more closely examined in the chapter of Kiyomizu, and it literally means 'taking away from the original poem'. This method of poetry composition started much earlier than the 17th century, and the logic behind it is to create a new poem by using part of an already existing poem. According to the noted scholar of Japanese *waka* poetry, Kōya Okumura, *honkadori* lends a multi-layered effect to the new poem.[13] For example, one such *honkadori* poem reads in this way:

Miwayama wo	Mount Miwa
shikamo kakusuka	Would you, too, veil *it*,
harugasumi	Spring Mist?
hitoni shirarenu	I'll bet something blooms:
hanaya sakuran	Blossoms unknown to man![14]

Now, comparing the above poem by Kino Tsurayuki, which was composed in 905, to the original poem by Princess Nukata in 667, the similarities are clear:

Miwayama wo	Must they veil Mount Miwa so?
shikamo kakusuka	Even clouds might have pity;
kumo danimo	Should ye, O clouds,

[13]Okumura Kōya, 1984-1991. *Heibonsha daihyakka jiten.* Tokyo: Heibonsha
[14]Robin D. Gill, 2006. *Cherry Blossom Epiphany—The Poetry and Philosophy of a Flowering Tree.* UK: Paraverse Press, p.245

kokoro aranamo conceal *it* from me?

kakusou beshiya

In fact, in Japanese, the first phrase is exactly the same. Of course, this was considered plagiarism by some people. 12th century court noble and poet Fujiwara Kiyosuke describes this as 'stealing classical poems', and he advised his followers to avoid using this method.[15] Regarding *honkadori* and plagiarism, Fujiwara Sadaie explains in his *Meigetsuki*[16] in 1219 that it is essential for poets to make clear to readers that they are making a new poem by using a phrase from an original poem. It is important to mention that those poems from which phrases were *taken away* were widely-known poems that every educated person was able to recite quite easily. By the time Fujiwara Sadaie lived, this process of 'taking away from the original' was accepted by many poets and these poems were praised as highly as the originals themselves. Certainly, this relationship between the original and the new poem cannot be fully applied to architecture; not only because these fields are quite different, but also because the act in architecture has a much stronger connotation in terms of *copying* the original. However, the attitude towards the original poems in *honkadori* helps in understanding how the Japanese treat original and copied architecture. This will be further discussed and analysed in Chapter 3.

It is important to consider how other researchers and writers have explained the uniquely Japanese attitude towards the act of copying architecture. Anthropologist Christoph Brumann has researched imitation projects in modern-day Kyoto[17] using three imitation projects which were planned in the late 1990s as his examples. Two of these are buildings that are based on Western architectural styles, and the third is a complex of Japanese traditional dwellings in Kyoto. He asserts that, when copying urban dwellings, there is an issue with defining the most appropriate architectural form to copy:

> "This greatly increases the possibility of contested members of classes of originals, and people will often disagree about how to distinguish the legitimate copies — the "original

[15] Okumura Kōya, 1984-1991. *Heibonsha daihyakka jiten*

[16] For the full text please visit online at: www.unive.it/media/allegato/download/Lingue/.../maigetsusho.pdf [Accessed: June 26 2015]

[17] ChristophBrumann, 2008. 'Copying Kyoto: The legitimacy of imitation in Kyoto's townscape debates' In RupertCox (ed.) *The Culture of Copying in Japan: Critical and Historical Perspectives*. New York: Routledge, p.213-238

copies", so to speak — from the illegitimate ones — the "copied copies" (e.g. modern reproductions of Shaker chairs)."[18]

The issue of distinguishing between that which can be described as an 'original' and that which is classified as a 'copy' extends beyond traditional dwellings and into other classes of building, especially in Japan. Since traditionally, the majority of buildings in Japan were constructed from wood, and fires were not uncommon, the attitude was that a building destroyed by fire and rebuilt in the same style could still likely to be considered an 'original'. At the time that Edo was planned, almost all architectural structures were made from wood and other easily damaged materials such as plaster and clay. In his conclusion, Brumann states that:

"Without doubt, the status of copying in Japanese architecture is influenced by factors that have socio-historical genealogies that are nationally specific. The periodic renewal of Shinto shrines and the theme parks and 'Disneylandization' of public facilities probably do not have full equivalents in other societies."[19]

The term "Disneylandization" was first coined by Nakagawa Osamu, and it refers to creating public facilities as if they exist in the safe, sanitised and non-threatening space of Disneyland.[20] This architectural theme was often seen in the 1970s and extended to large buildings such as 'love hotels' which often take inspiration from both Japanese and Western castle design as part of their exterior decoration. However, this term does not help to understand what was happening in the thesis time frame as it describes a contemporary issue.

Ronald Toby published a similar article in the same book as Brumann's.[21] He focuses on a mysterious painter, Hanegawa Tōei, who may or may not have actually existed, and on a series of paintings, purportedly painted by this mysterious figure, which depict an official Korean ambassador to the Tokugawa shogunate in 1748. The image was rendered as a woodblock print, and appears to have been modified over time. When discussing this series of images, Toby too explores what is meant when discussing the concept of 'copying' in Japan.

[18] Ibid., p.218
[19] Ibid., p.229
[20] Osamu Nakagawa, 1996. *Gisō suru Nippon: Kōkyō Shisetsu no dizunīrandazeishon.* Tokyo: Shōkokusha
[21] Ronald Toby, 2008. 'The Originality of the 'Copy': Mimesis and Subversion in Hanegawa Tōei's Chōsenjin Ukie' In Rupert Cox (ed.) *The Culture of Copying in Japan: Critical and Historical Perspectives.* New York: Routledge, p.71-110

He looks at the word *utsusu*, meaning 'to copy', and notices that there are several words in Japan that are pronounced in the same way. Through examining the meanings of these words, he noticed that they have a series of shared meanings centred on the notion of "movement or transference of some subject or object, from one material or metaphorical location to another".[22] This Toby's point is interesting and useful when trying to grasp the concept of copy, *utsushi* that will be discussed more in Chapter 3.

Niels Gutschow's book, *Architectural Imitations: Reproductions and Pastiches in East and West*, is another important work to consider. In this book, [23] Gutschow investigates several architectural reconstruction and translation projects that were completed in the 20th century. His writings demonstrate modern Japanese attitudes towards the recreation of vanished religious architecture. Most of these reconstruction projects took place due to the severe damage to the building, caused by fire and other disruptions in the 20th century. In his section on copying, he writes:

> "The term 'reconstruction' should probably be widely replaced by 'copy' as soon as a replication of something existing is intended, or if the replication is located somewhere else, or if it has a completely different cultural context."[24]

This partially supports the understanding of the concept of an 'architectural copy' in this context. The pieces of architecture that this thesis examines are, in each case, something that already exists in Kyoto but has been copied into the new city of Edo. However, as will be explained, this copying should not be understood as Edo having a "completely different cultural context" but it in many ways inherited the cultural attitude of the act of copying throughout centuries in Japan and beyond.

In the literature on this subject written in the English language, it is possible to find commentary on the nature of architectural copying in Japan, right down to the correct terminology to be applied to this act. However, commentary in many Japanese works is

[22] Toby Ronald P, 2008. 'The Originality of the 'Copy': Mimesis and Subversion in Hanegawa Tōei's Chōsenjin Ukie' In Rupert Cox (ed.) *The Culture of Copying in Japan: Critical and Historical Perspectives*, p.77
[23] NielsGutschow, 2005. 'The Japanese Practice: Translation and Reconstruction' In Wim Denslagen and Niels Gutschow (eds.) *Architectural Imitations: Reproductions and Pastiches in East and West.* Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, p.77-97
[24] Ibid., p.86

noticeable by its absence.[25] This is especially true of books in the field of architecture and city planning. There are books commenting on the unique nature of renewing the same architecture, such as Isozaki Arata's work on the Ise shrine.[26] However, even his book makes no mention of architectural copying as a distinct subject. This lack of commentary regarding the concept of copying perhaps reflects a certain lack of awareness of this act of copying. In other words, this act of copying is so internalised that Japanese authors do not see this as something unique and worthy of comment. Exploring the notion of copying architecture is essential to understand the way in which the Japanese seethe relationship between an original and a copy: by what process did it come to be copied, where was it placed, why was it thought to be necessary, how did appear, and what did it really mean to the people of the time? For that reason, this thesis will investigate this previously overlooked phenomenon.

1.1.3 Understanding Japanese Cities

Augustin Berque states that in Europe the recreation of old monumental buildings was almost non-existent. This is because recreating the form that existed before is considered as faking the original rather than being faithful to it. He also mentions that the concept of cultural heritage only appears after the 18th century, and that before that time Europeans had no hesitation in demolishing old buildings. This viewpoint is completely different from how the Japanese see an old building. Europeans were not interested in cultural heritage before the 18th century, and later on they appreciated only the original architecture. He continues to state that while both the Japanese and Europeans try to keep hold of memories of the past through architecture, Europe stayed true to material continuation over a long period of time, and Japan clung to the symbolic continuation of form in space.[27]

Suzuki[28] Hiroyuki states that Japanese architecture and Western architecture are fundamentally different. Japanese architecture is unique in focusing on horizontal expansion especially before the 18th century. He also mentions that since Japanese architecture does not

[25] Timon Screech published a book about Edo city planning in Japan. Although it is not published in English speaking world, which was first written in English language. Timon Screech, 2007. Edo no ōbushin – Tokugawa toshi keikaku no shigaku. Trans. Morishita Masaaki. Tokyo: Kōdansha

[26] Isozaki Arata, 2006. *Japan-ness in Architecture.* Massachusetts: The MIT Press

[27] Augustin Berque, 1993.*Toshino kosumoroji nichi bei no toshi hikaku*, trans. Shinoda Katsuhide. Tokyo: Kōdansha, p.42-47

[28] Suzuki Hiroyuki, 1999. *Nihon no geniusu loci*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, p.214-227

usually take upper floors into consideration in its design, the composition of the building is decided upon horizontally. The arrangement is also dependent on the character or attributes that each room in the building is given. This creates, for example, the tradition of addressing people with the name of their location or the name of the room in buildings, such as Kiritsubo no Nyōgo in *The Tale of Genji* and *Kin'un* for aristocrats.

In the West, the meaning of the building's space was understood in a different way. There is an understanding of the distance each room has from the centre, and the centre typically represented either the king or the pope. In this way, Western civilisation understood the world as the relationship between the centre and its rim.[29]

This horizontal expansion of the city can be understood better by considering a theory introduced by Maki Fumihiko. He uses the Japanese term *oku*, literally meaning 'the inner part' or 'the depth'. He explains that Western cities are centred by placing the *axis mundi*, which is the centre of the world, and this pillar or tree or mountain, etc., plays a role in connecting heaven and earth. One of the most significant examples of this is a gothic cathedral and the city expanded around the cathedral. According to Maki, the cathedral does not strictly act as the core of the city, but its development was used to emphasise the idea of horizontality. He uses Heian-kyō as an example of the difference between Western and Japanese way of building a city, pointing out the lack of autonomy of the city through the omission of a castle wall and the shift of the centre of the city by moving imperial palaces. He goes on to suggest the existence of *oku* in the city, made by constructing suburban villas, temples and shrines at the foot of the mountain.[30] For example, in the case of Kyoto in the 17th century there were several large temples as well as residence of powerful warlords and imperial palaces built throughout the central part of the city. And at the same time, those wealthy and powerful people`s villas as well as other large temples were built at the foot of mountains that surround Kyoto. For example, in the beginning of the 17th century the Nijō castle which will be explained later, was built, but it did not function nor was it to be considered as the only centre or *axis mundi* of the city, because there were other important buildings – such as the Imperial palace or Hōkō-ji. Then they also had suburban developments such as Katsura Imperial villa on the

[29] Ibid.
[30] Maki Fumihiko, 1980.Oku no shisōIn Maki, F. (ed.) 1980. *Mie gakure suru toshi*. Tokyo: Kashima shupankai

south western part of Kyoto and Kiyomizu-dera located on the eastern side of Kyoto and Mt. Hiei and its temple of Enryaku-ji 延暦寺 and Hiyoshi shrine.

This is further explained by Fujiwara,[31] who says that in places like Kyoto, where mountains surround the city, the understanding of the city space developed to the border and mountains, and temples and shrines existed mainly on this bordering area. The mountains also suggest the development of further space behind them. Cities that are built on a flat field without mountains nearby, such as Edo, lack the sense of *oku.* Naturally the city's political symbols, such as Edo castle, were built on the level ground, but Fujiwara states that the castle was not the core of the city, in terms of being a mental symbol and landmark for the townspeople. He further explains that castle towns were developed by linking smaller units of clustered dwellings, samurai houses, merchant's towns and temples and shrines. The numerous *oku* exist in both Edo and Kyoto since there is no centre, and this subsequently creates the uniqueness of individual cities.[32] Fujiwara's philosophy on the subject in the case of Edo, at least in the time of the early to mid-17th century, where this thesis focuses on, shows that the Tokugawa shogunate have paid a lot of attention to make Edo castle as the centre of the city. Though at the same time it is important to mention that although in the case of Edo of that time, temples such as Kan'ei-ji, Sensō-ji and Zōjō-ji functioned as a symbolic feature to the city of Edo which will be examined later on in my thesis.

Both Maki and Fujiwara's ideas of *oku* may have developed from a theory which was put forward by Amino Yoshihiko. Amino introduces the idea of *muen* the concept that certain areas within the city are free from the control of authority.[33] In other words, these places for asylum exist in multiple locations within the city, as a result of the lack of a centrified view.

This thesis will however, challenge these concepts. Not only because Japanese city planning, at least before the 9th century relied on that of Chinese Tang dynasty style city planning that will be further explained later, but also the presence of authorities was quite apparent. Both Kyoto and Edo will be examined as cities constructed under the strong command of these authorities. As is clearly depicted in *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu*, folding

[31] Fujiwara Shigekazu, 2004. 'Oku: Nihon kūkan no kihon genri' In *Nihon daigaku geijutsu gakubu kiyō vol.40*. Tokyo: Nihon Daigaku, p.67-81
[32] Ibid., p.70-74
[33] Amino Yoshihiko, 1996. *Muen kugai raku – nihon chūsei no 'jiyū' to heiwa*. Tokyo: Heibonsha

screens depicting areas in and around Kyoto, certain architecture and areas were considered as the centre of Kyoto, and this belief is the same in the case of Edo. However, it is also true that screens depicting these locations polarise the power of the landmarks across the screen set. Considering the fact that a vast majority of folding screens were commissioned by those involved in establishing their authority, their intention of deliberately focusing on certain locations was inevitable. Some of these areas had a strong political presence, and others were important for other reasons such as religion, economy, and as places of beauty.

Suzuki proposes that space and location, although somewhat alike, have completely different meanings in this context. While space can exist without identity, location always possesses its own identity. This is explained by introducing the Japanese concept of *nadokoro* (see Chapter 3.2.1). The Japanese did not appreciate *nadokoro* for the uniqueness of its space, but as a location that continued to link the external world to that specific place within a literal context.

Following this line of thought, the Japanese, compared to people in the West, have a different mindset when thinking about the importance of specific sites. The Japanese culture owes much to the characteristics of locations, and this has been considered as individual to Japan and not as being universal. However, this characteristic of being *local*, as opposed to the Western view of the location from the aspect of polar co-ordination, is necessary in order to understand Japanese culture.[34] This concept will be examined in Chapter 2.

In the field of architectural history, research on individual cities was not commonly conducted prior to the First World War (1914-1918). There was research conducted on Heijō-kyō and Nara by Sekino Tadashi, who discovered Heijō-kyō itself,[35] Hei`an-kyō and Kyoto by Sekino Masaru[36] and Edo[37] by Ōkuma Yoshikuni, but their research focuses on either the place itself, how people distributed dwellings and what sort of laws were issued to define 'a dwelling'. It was in 1960 that the first comprehensive research into the history of Japanese

[34] Suzuki Hiroyuki, 1999. *Nihon no geniusu loci*
[35]Yoshikawa Satoshi, 2003.'Sekino tadashi kankei shiryō' In *Nara bunkazai kenkyū jo kiyō*. Nara: Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, p.42-45
[36] Sekino Masaru, 1940. *Heiankyō no takuchiwarito matchiya in Kenchikushi vol.2 nr.2*Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan
[37]Ōkuma Yoshikuni, 1921. 'Edojidai jūtakuni kansuru hōreito sono eikyō tsuki jūtaku ni kansuru seisaku' In *Kenchikku zasshi vol.35 nr.420*. Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, p.535-566

cities was conducted.[38] Further research has been conducted in relation to specific cities on which this thesis focuses.

It was Naito Akira who first focused on the development of the city of Edo from both a historical and architectural perspective. Although he does not consider space in relation to other cities such as Kyoto, he presents the possibility of researching Japanese cities from the perspective of architectural history. Kawakami Mitsugu[39] reveals how the *shindenzukuri* architectural style shifted to *shoinzukuri* from the early Kamakura to the end of the Muromachi period (1336-1573), through researching on various landowners housing plans.

Takahashi Yasuo[40] researched extensively into medieval Kyoto and how the city space developed through different phenomena. He also examined *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens, and conducted research which provided a new understanding of the Uesugi versions of *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens and their purpose. Hatano Jun[41] has extensively researched how water and sewer services played an important role when planning castle towns. Tamai Tetsuo uses architectural historical sources together with both visuals and documents to reveal how city planning, especially the development of town areas, was developed before the Great Fire of Meireki (1657).[42] Miyamoto Masaaki[43] examines castle towns by looking at the perspective of *vista*, and analyses how much authority consciously placed a value on the relationship between the main street and the castle in order to dignify the power to the people who saw it. Amino Yoshihiko's radical introduction of the concept of *muen*,[44] *kukai* and *raku*[45] changed how researchers considered Japanese medieval cities in general.[46] These words all indicate locations that are detached from this worldly relationship. These places possessed special

[38] Itō Teiji, 1960. 'Toshiron jūtaku mondai'In *Shintei kenchikugaku taikei vol.2*. Tokyo: Shōkokusha
[39] Kawakami Mitsugu, 1959. 'Nihon chūsei jūtaku no kenkyū' In *Kenchiku zasshi vol.74 nr.873*. Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai
[40] Takahashi Yasuo, 2006. 'Egakareta Kyoto – uesugi bon rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu no muromachi den wo megutte'In Takahashi Yasuo (ed.) *Chūsei no naka no 'Kyoto'*. Tokyo: Shinjimbutsu Ōraisha
[41] Hatano Jun, 1991. 'Kaikyo no jōsui wo tōshite mita kinsei jōkamachi no toshi sekkei' In Hikaku toshi kenkyūkai In Ukawa H. (ed.) *Toshito kyōdōtai hikaku toshishi kenkyūkai sōritsu 20 shūnen kinen ronbunshū ge*. Tokyo: Hikaku Toshi Kenkyūkai, p.197-228
[42]Tamai Tetsuo, 1986. *Edo ushinawareta toshikūkan wo yomu*. Tokyo: Heibonsha
[43] Miyamoto Masaaki, 1985. 'Kinsei shoki jōkamachi no vista ni motozuku toshi sekkei – sono jittai to imi' In *Kenchikushigaku vol.4*. Tokyo: Kenchikushi Gakkai
[44] Muen is the concept relating to either people or location which separates individuals to his attached characteristics which include his or her social, sexual and private relationship.
[45] Both kukai and raku can be understod by the locations which were either created by authorities or communities to ease the ordinary regulations which applied in areas of cities in general.
[46] Amino Yoshihiko, 1996.*Muen kugai raku – nihon chūsei no 'jiyu' to heiwa*.

rights and statuses: for example, no taxation, freedom from automatic rejection of public involvement in disputes, the disappearance of renting and borrowing, and the security of its territory as a neutral place. Many people from different classes, including the so-called untouchables, entertainers, intellectuals, monks who asked for donations and craftsmen had a hand in creating these locations. The representation of people who were considered to be outcasts contributing to these locations, indicate the character of a city as a safe haven which the authorities cannot reach.[47] Amino's folkloristic approach, while criticised by other researchers such as Araki Moriaki[48] who possesses a totally negative view on medieval authority, has led scholars in other fields to redefine what elements or factors need to be considered when understanding the concept of a city.

As introduced above, studies have been made in various fields including architecture history, archaeology, sociology, geography and historical science. Japanese scholars of architectural history have tried to unite and put together these different views and perspectives. This is why the book *Nihon Toshishi Nyūmon*[49] from 1989 has three major themes: space, town and humans. As many as 25 researchers provide their work on these themes, although the three volumes of the book do not aim to create an overall view on city developments in Japan. The combined work does however create a consensus amongst these researchers, which is that the city should not be understood only as social space where human activities were conducted, but that it also withholds physical space including single building structures, dwellings and city planning. In other words, they put emphasis on physicality of the city which limits, in many ways, how people of the town behave.

Yoshida Nobuyuki[50] suggests we can understand cities through three categorical developments. The first is the traditional city which consists of ancient capitals, castles and castle towns in early modern periods, the second is modern cities and the last development is contemporary cities. He further divides this early modern castle town section into five basic phenomena: the castle itself, daimyo housings, samurai housings, townsmen housings, and temples and shrines. Yoshida focuses on comparing the three largest cities – Kyoto, Osaka and

[47] Amino Yoshihiko, 1986. *Igyōno ōken*. Tokyo: Heibonsha
[48] Araki Moriaki, 1986. (Ed.) *Bakuhan taisei shakai no seiritsu to kōzō*, Fourth edition. Tokyo: Yūhikaku publishing
[49] Takahashi Yasuo and Yoshida Nobuyuki (ed.) 1989. *Nihon toshishi nyūmon III hito.*Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai
[50] Yoshida Nobuyuki (ed.) 1992. *Nihon no kinsei vol.9 toshi no jidai*. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha

Edo – and he explains why these three cities are selected. These three cities,[51] which became gigantic, possess all of the previously mentioned five aspects. Through examining these cities, Yoshida deduces that they also possess the specific characteristics of medium to small sized castle towns. Secondly, examining these three cities gives historians the ability to capture the newly appearing factors in the development of a town, and we can see how far these traditional cities could reach.[52] Yoshida's interest in the castle town developed his understanding that the idea of a 'town' is created by different social groups, such as the elite samurai class, religious institutes, imperial households, merchants and other groups.[53] This way of understanding cities led to the development of research on each social group's functionality and structure.[54]

Many researchers and scholars have stated that some of Edo city structure is copied from Kyoto. However, there are only a few scholars who actually focused on this side of Edo city planning. These authors include Suzuki Masao,[55] Oishi Manabu,[56] Naito Masato,[57] Urai Shōmyō[58] and Miyamoto Kenji.[59]Although, the explanations and examinations, as well as the analysis made by these scholars, are only brief and they do not go into detail about the concept of copying within this subject matter. Also, they appear not to pay much attention to the significance of the culture of copying which was prominent at the time that the city of Edo was created. Timon Screech's book, *Edo no Ōbushin*, places Edo into the context of the previously existing culture of Kyoto and the tradition of other aspects, such as *waka* poetry making and the religious aspects of Edo with its connection to Kyoto.[60] However, the main focus of Screech's book is the city planning of Edo, and the development of those sacred sites through the beginning of Edo up to the end of the 18th century. There is a lot more space to discuss the copied sacred sites in Edo and their relationship to other aspects that had been created by the time of the late 16th to the early 17th century that this thesis will investigate and present.

[51]He uses a word *santo* literally meaning 'three capitals'
[52]Yoshida Nobuyuki, (ed.) 1992. *Nihon no kinsei vol.9 toshi no jidai*
[53]Yoshida Nobuyuki and Sato Makoto (eds.) 2001. *Shintaikei nihon shi vol.6 toshi shakaishi*. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shupansha
[54]Shibuya Yōko, 2000. 'Bakuhan taisei no keisei katei to daimyo edo hantei – owarihan wo chushini' In *Tokugawa rinseshi kenkyūsho kenkyūkio vol.34*. Tokyo: Tokugawa Reimeikai, p.89-106
[55]Suzuki Masao, 2000. Edo wa kōshite tsukurareta – maboroshi no hyakunen wo fukugen suru. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō
[56]Ōishi Manabu, 2002. *Shuto edo no tanjō – ōedo wa ikanishite tsukurareta noka*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten
[57] Naito Masato, 2007. Edo ōken no kosumorojii – minzoku no hakken III. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan
[58]Urai Shōmyō, 2007. *Ueno Kan'ei-ji shōgunke no sōgi*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan
[59]Miyamoto Kenji, 1996. *Edo no toshikeikaku – kenchikuka shūdan to shūkyō dezain*. Tokyo: Kōdansha
[60]Timon Screech, 2007. *Edo no ōbushin – Tokugawa toshi keikaku no shigaku.* Tokyo: Kōdansha

1.1.4 The Two Cities of Kyoto and Edo

Kyoto was established at the end of the 8th century by the Imperial family. Since then, historically, the city of Kyoto was the largest city in Japan; later surpassed by Osaka and Edo towards the end of the 16th century.[61] It was also the imperial capital, where the emperor lived and conducted his authority. However, the political influence of the emperor weakened over the centuries and feudal lords arose. Feudal lords gained power through military force; the most powerful ones opened their own shogunate and were in turn crushed by other lords.

Kyoto's city planning was based on Chinese grid city planning system, called *jōbō-sei*. The first appearance of this Chinese based grid system is in Fujiwara-kyō, Kashihara, Nara where it was an Imperial capital between 694 to 710. This system was also adopted by Heijō-kyō in Nara where it was the capital between 710 and 740, as well as years between 745 and 784. This grid system aims to represent a space where Chinese emperor who was believed to receive right to govern his people from heaven, and according to Seo Tatsuhiko, there are some philosophical ideas motivated this city planning. For example, in the case of the Chinese city of Luoyang in both Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-907) dynasty, Chinese understanding of astrological and cosmological order was reflected upon its city planning. In addition, other aspects such as one of the confusion classic, the Rites of Zhou, and Chinese geomancy such as *yin* and *yang* theory and *wuxing* theory influenced upon its city planning.[62]

Like in Luoyang and other Japanese capital cities, Heian-kyō, the present-day Kyoto also followed this idea upon its creation in the end of 8th century. Therefore, in Kyoto, careful selection was made in order to match geographical criteria so that river situates on the east, lake on the south, large street on the west and mountain on the north. This geographic condition ruled by Chinese geomancy is called *shijin sōō* in which each of four directions has god and an ideal city needs to have geographic characteristics that correspond to these gods.

Although the city of Kyoto was known most commonly as Heian-kyō, where *kyō* means capital city and *heian* means peace, at one point Kyoto was known as *rakuyō*. According to Daijirin Sanseidō, the city was aiming to look and sound just as powerful as Luoyang in

[61] Hayami Tōru, 2001. *Rekishi Jinkōgaku demita nihon.* Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, p.67-73
[62] Seo Tatsuhiko, 2001. *Chōan no toshi keikaku*. Tokyo: Kōdansha

China.[63] During the Heian period, *rakuyō* was in particular used to describe the *sakyō*, the right half of Kyoto city and for the rest of the left-hand side of the city the name *Shōan* or *Changan* was used. In other words, the right part of Kyoto which is Sakyō was named *rakuyō* and the left half – *ukyō* (Changan). Interestingly, in China Luoyang was known as an eastern capital, while the city Changan was known as a Western capital. It is both interesting and important that Kyoto was sometimes called by these Chinese names because it not only indicates that the capital of Japan in some ways accepted its self image to reflect these Chinese capitals, but also by doing so, Kyoto in some extent give an impression to internalise these two cities within.

Besides the fact that Kyoto's city planning was based on Chinese city planning of Changan Luoyang jōbō, the first appearance of these words is estimated to be after the 14th century, following the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and after the publication of *Shūgai Shō* by Tōin Kinkata 洞院公賢 (1291-1360). Kyoto appeared to have a strong desire to combine China's greatest cities, as shown in the naming convention of the time. The most apparent reason why Kyoto was not called *rakuchō* or *chō* is because of *Sakyō* (the right half), which developed a lot more as a city than the *Ukyō* area which covered the left-hand side of Kyoto.

Coming back to the political side of the city, by the 15th century, Kyoto was devastated by wars between those who sought to gain the most political power from the chaotic situation. Governing Kyoto, even if it was severely damaged by war, still represented a great deal of political power. This disorder was finally calmed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), who also established his power centre together with the one in Osaka. Like Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582), Hideyoshi rebuilt the capital by using his supremacy over other feudal lords, but to a much more bolder scale. He built castles, temples and other religious architecture which will be mentioned later in this thesis. However, after the death of Hideyoshi and the decline of his families' power, by the early 17th century Kyoto remained the capital of Japan in name only due to the Tokugawa shogunate based in Edo. Although Osaka had a great impact on the economy, the real capital was now Edo, because it was the centre of real political power. Edo rapidly grew from what had been a small, virtually unknown fishing village until the 16th century to a metropolis with an estimated population of one million by 1721, and was the largest city in the world at the time.[64] The Imperial family remained in Kyoto, though their

[63] Akira Matsumura (ed.) 2006.*Daijirin*. Tokyo: Sanseidō Shoten
[64] Ibid., p.82

role was not political, but rather a symbolic role as a cultural, legitimate and historically noble family. They were under the supervision of the Tokugawa shogunate, which held the political power in Japan. The Imperial family finally moved to Edo in 1868, when Tokugawa Yoshinobu gave up his authority as shogun and returned the rule of Japan to the emperor. After the emperor arrived in Edo, the city came to be known as Tokyo, the 'Eastern Capital'. This thesis intends to highlight the political and historical difference of both cities' characteristics, alongside the parallel existence of political symbols.

Herman Ooms states that the emperor of Japan was the head of the political system until 1600. For 800, years Kyoto was the capital and Ise was the centre of religious ritual for 1,000 years. He continues to state that emperor, Kyoto and Ise shaped the central space for Japan's ideology, and that the early Tokugawa shoguns tried to replace this space with the shogun, Edo and Nikkō. It is widely concluded that they greatly succeeded in this.[65] It is however crucial to mention here that it was not as clear and obvious at the time as it seems. From the end of Hideyoshi's reign up until the reign of Iemitsu, Kyoto was in a quite unstable situation. Despite the fact that Tokugawa took over power, their control was not absolute. It took the Tokugawa clan several decades to firmly establish their own ideology, and even when they created their ideological space they needed to borrow many things from Kyoto.

During the period of early 17th century, it grew to become one of the largest cities in the world and it was the site of a vibrant urban culture centred on notions of '*ukiyo*', the "floating world".[66] A historical document 'Azuma Kagami' from the middle of the 13th century indicates the first appearance of the name Edo. It is named after its main geographical feature - that the Sumida River reaches the sea in what is now Edo Bay.[67]

When we look at how Edo corresponded to Chinese ideology of city planning, it looks as if only some parts of it were represented. For instance, it does not follow the Chinese grid system but the city placed moating circularly, putting the Edo castle at the core. Perhaps though, this way of placing Edo castle is in fact more suited for the original Chinese understanding of the idealised city. There is no mountain that situates on the north but this lack

[65]Herman Ooms, 1990. Tokugawa Ideology. Trans. Kurozumi Makoto, Shimizu Masayuki, Toyosawa Hajime, Yorizumi Mitsuko. Tokyo: Perikansha, p.213

[66]*'Floating World'* in Oxford Art [Online] Available from: http://www.oxfordartonline.com/ [Accessed: June 10th 2015]

[67]Takeuchi Makoto (ed.) 2006. *Tokyo no chimei yurai jiten.* Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan, p.5

of mountain might well be soon understood and set as Mt. Nikkō which will be mentioned later. Certainly, like Kyoto, Edo has a river on the east and perhaps Tōkaidō, which connects Edo to Kyoto can be considered as a large street on the west. Further, there is Edo bay located on the south so these answered to the condition of idealised city of *shijin sōō* in some extent.[68]

Edo was initially established as the Tokugawa bakufu's headquarters. The term '*bakufu*' originally meant the dwelling and household of a shogun on the battlefield, but in time it came to be used as a general term for the system of government of a feudal military dictatorship, exercised in the name of the Emperor. This is the meaning that has been adopted into English through the term "shogunate". The Tokugawa bakufu was founded in the year 1603, and the Tokugawa family came to be the ruling family of Japan for over 260 years. After winning the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu became the most powerful man in Japan and established his own shogunate. The following victory at Osaca Castle against the formerly dominant Toyotomi family raised his shogunate to the position of the only and absolute one. This made it possible for him to develop his own city, Edo. After Tokugawa Ieyasu's death in 1616, Edo did not stop developing; on the contrary, its expansion was accelerated by his son Hidetada and grandson Iemitsu during the first half of the 17th century. These first three generations built Edo up into a city that rivalled Kyoto over the course of only five decades.

1.2 Religion and Authority

1.2.1 Temples and Shrines

From the perspective of Japan's architectural history and the establishment and copying of sacred spaces, this work will look specifically at the timespan from the mid-16th century up until the second half of the 17th century. Prior to 1985, Japanese architectural historians described religious architecture in Edo-period Japan as stagnant, suggesting that from an architectural perspective it wasn't something that they would consider interesting or worth mentioning. This view was shared in the field of religious history, particularly as early-modern temples and shrines were the smallest unit of the administrative organisation that served the

[68]Seo Tatsuhiko, 2001. *Chōan no toshi keikaku*. Tokyo: Kōdansha

Tokugawa shogunate.[69] This view reflects on how researchers of the history of architecture viewed early-modern religious architecture.[70]

The field of the preservation of cultural heritage also focused on how early-modern religious architecture inherited the medieval style. In this regard, architecture in this period as a whole was not a highly valued subject to examine by researchers, since they were regarded as a mere continuation of the same architectural style that existed before. Mitsui Wataru[71] states that four experiments emerged from research into Japanese history, which changed this situation. The first is the development of Edo culture. Nishiyama Matsunosuke[72] focused on types of culture in the city which were previously ignored, and provided a perspective on how ordinary people used temples and shrines. The second was the re-evaluation of early-modern religious institutions in a political context. Takano Toshihiko[73] showed the autonomous activity of religious institutions in a way that enables us to view religious architecture from the viewpoint of those institutions. The final aspect was research into religious institutions' economic activities. Yuasa Takashi shows in his work how early-modern Japanese religious institutions gained funding for new religious buildings, which enables us to understand the process of construction more precisely. The fourth and final was the development of research on who actually constructed the religious architectural sites. Kawakami Mitsugu clarifies what types of people were involved in this work.[74] After 1985, the research on religious architecture and the sacred spaces that were created in early-modern Japan meant that researchers could introduce multi layered information and analytical methods into their own research.

Mitsui looks at three points in his article: who first suggested creating religious architecture and what was that person's aim, who financially supported it, and how was the shogunate involved with these activities? Mitsui says[75] that "this involvement of authority could be found not only in early-modern Japan, but also in previous periods, but it was early-modern authority who first built this system that oversees the whole building activities that

[69]Mitsui Wataru, 2006. 'Kinsei jisha keidai no yōsō' In Suzuki Hiroyuki, Osamu Ishiyama, Takeshi Ito, Tsuneto Yamagishi (eds.) *History of cities and architecture 6, Maturing City and Culture in Pre-modern Age*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, p.147-200
[70]Tsuji Zennosuke, 1954. *Nihon bukkyōshi vol.8 kinsei hen vol.3.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten
[71]Mitsui Wataru, 2006. 'Kinsei jisha keidai no yōsō'
[72] Nishiyama Matsunosuke, 1981. *Ōedo no bunka*. Tokyo: NHK Shuppan
[73] Takano Toshihiko, 1989. *Kinsei nihon no kokka kenryoku to shūkyō*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai
[74]Kawakami Mitsugu, 1959. 'Nihon chūsei jūtaku no kenkyū'
[75]Mitsui Wataru, 2006. 'Kinsei jisha keidai no yōsō'

happened in their territory and make them fit into their social structure by giving orders".[76] The end of the medieval temples and shrines came about through destruction and demolitions led by feudal lords. Famous examples of this include the destruction of the Great Buddha Hall of Tōdai-ji in Nara in 1567, the burning of Mt. Hiei by Nobunaga in 1571 and Hideyoshi's invasion of Hongan-ji temple in Osaka in 1576. Hideyoshi disarmed religious institutions and changed their financial bases, as well as how each institution was run.[77] In this way, the institutions lost their ability to build religious architecture under their own power, and this ability shifted to the ruling authority of the time. The Toyotomi clan became the main body which autonomously decided what was to be built and how it was to be constructed. Mitsui concludes that: "this means the act of building architecture changed from internal demand made by religious organizations to displaying what those in authority would like to display".[78] Mitsui additionally says that both Hōkō-ji temple and Kyōō Gokoku-ji were deliberately placed in the centre of the capital. These were the ideal landmarks with which to express and glorify Hideyoshi as the new ruler. The restoration of Mt. Hiei by Hideyoshi, in direct opposition to the actions of his former superior Nobunaga, needed to be conducted. This is because the unique characteristics of Mt. Hiei were used to symbolise the ruling power's control over the Tendai Buddhist sect. This theory is also supported by Mitsui.[79]

Mitsui mentions that the Tokugawa shogunate's approach to building and restoring religious architecture includes ideals and practices inherited from that of the Toyotomi clan. He uses Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū, a Shinto shrine in Kamakura, as an example, stating that the restoration of this shrine was intended to improve the aesthetics of the site. As the shrine was established and worshipped at by the Minamoto clan, Ieyasu was able to claim his own clan as being descended from them. It not only aimed to make the site look better, but also to demonstrate the clan's legitimacy of rule. Through this connection created by Ieyasu they could indicate that they can claim their authority of being authentic. Using this example, one can further establish that religious architecture was used politically during this period in history the same as in history before.[80]

[76]Translated by Terumi Toyama
[77]Mitsui Wataru, 2006. 'Kinse jisha keidai no yōsō', p.152
[78]Ibid.
[79]Ibid., p.153
[80]Ibid., p.154

Mitsui says that the political use of this religious architecture peaked under the rule of the third shogun Iemitsu, and he mentions three religious 'mountains' of the Tendai sect as the largest scaled restoration and construction work that took place during the Kan'ei period. These three 'mountains' are Mt. Hiei, Kan'ei-ji and Mt. Nikkō. He states that "Kan'ei-ji is based on copying a part of Enryaku-ji temple and adding the logic of worshiping the Tokugawa clan".[81] Mitsui uses the architectural style of Ninai-dō as the only example that supports his argument. Ninai-dō is a set of religious buildings which are connected by a roofed wooden bridge, and their monks walk around whilst chanting Buddhist sutras, which is usually common in larger scaled temples.[82] It is claimed that the Ninai-dō architectural style at Kan'ei-ji uses the same architecture style used to create Enryaku-ji temple on Mt. Hiei.

Mitsui points out three ways in which the restoration and construction work of the Tendai 'mountains' show completely different characteristics to the same works that took place during the medieval period. The first is the subject of the work, about which Mitsui says that "although it is a fact that Iemitsu was devoted to the Tendai monk, Tenkai, it is inappropriate to directly link these works to his personal faith, but we can say that it was rather a choice made to consider the importance of Mt. Hiei as a place to symbolize sovereignty of the nation. Therefore, the building of the Tōeizan Kan'ei-ji was conducted first in order to transplant its symbolic meaning to the new capital."[83] The second aspect is the multiple large-scale temple complexes in different locations. These works were also completed within a short period of time, which was physically impossible for any medieval temples and daimyo of the Sengoku period to carry out. Mitsui states that this is clearly meant to "represent the characteristics of the Edo shogunate as a regime which unites the whole of Japan".[84] The third method was to build Tōshō-gū at Mt. Nikkō. Both Kan'ei-ji and Enryaku-ji built a Tōshō-gū to add to their compound and this served to bring the Tokugawa clan an increased religious significance: "This means that the Tokugawa family was pushed up to an equivalent existence as the idea of the nation".[85] Mitsui says that the process of building Hideyoshi's Hōkō-ji and Iemitsu's Kan'ei-ji could be understood as a part of building a castle town. These actions maximised the

[81]Ibid., p.155
[82]This practice is called *Zanmaigyō* or *Ogyōdō* and their route is always going clockwise.
[83]Mitsui Wataru, 2006. 'Kinse jisha keidai no yoso', p.157
[84]Ibid.
[85]Ibid.

political and public relations performance of the shogunate, as many people could witness the buildings being constructed.[86]

Naito Akira[87] conducted extensive research into who was actually involved in the construction of religious architecture during the Edo period. He mentions that most of the builders, except builder groups such as the Suzuki family and Kihara family, used to be associated with temples in the Kinki region, including Kyoto during the medieval period. For example, the Nakai family 中井家 who served both the Toyotomi clan and Tokugawa shogunate originally came from Hōryū-ji in Nara. They were given the title of 'Great Master Builders' and were regularly called upon to organise the planning and building of religious sites. Naito states that the most significant characteristic of building and restoring temples and shrines in the Kan'ei period was that these religious buildings were understood to serve an official purpose in their communities. The recognition of these sites was equal to that given to castle towns and official organisations, such as shogunate and daimyo organisations which directly conducted every activity involving these buildings, including choosing the location and sourcing the builders.[88]

Tani Naoki extensively researched the historical development of the Nakai family. Nakai Masakiyo 中井正清 (1565-1619) was involved in many of the great architectural triumphs of historical Japan, such as: Nijō castle, the Imperial Palace, Edo castle, Sunpu castle, Nagoya castle, Nikkō Tōshō-gū and the Great Buddha Hall at Hōkō-ji temple.[89] Since medieval times, the Nakai family acted as part of a craftsmen's group at Hōryū-ji temple.[90] Tani mentions that the Tokugawa shogunate understood the importance of having highly skilled craftsmen such as the Nakai family under their control. These craftsmen were not available in the Kantō region but were based in the Kinai region.[91] Nakai organized a large group of craftsmen in order to construct large architectural structures, and he collaborated with *Kyoto Shoshidai* which dealt with administrative issues regarding the governance of Kyoto. During this process, Nakai Masakiyo also contacted important figures in powerful religious

[86] Ibid., p.158
[87] Naito Akira, 1981.*Kinsei daiku no keifu*. Tokyo: Perikansha
[88] Mitsui Wataru, 2006. 'Kinse jisha keidai no yoso', p.165
[89] Tani Naoki, 2005. 'Kinsei toshi to daiku soshiki – daiku gashira nakaike to kyō Osaka' In *Kinsei toshi no seiritsu series toshi kenchiku rekishi 5.* Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, p.178-179
[90] Ibid., p.180
[91] Ibid., p.181

institutions such as Gien 義演 (1558-1626), a monk at Daigo-ji temple. Tokugawa Ieyasu trusted Nakai Masakiyo, and a letter[92] from Ōkubo Nagayasu to him states that Ieyasu sent his builders in Kantō to join the building of Hōkō-ji temple. This letter also states that Ieyasu says Nakai Masakiyo should be in charge of building the Imperial Palace, and that he told his son Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579-1632) that anything related to the building depended on Nakai Masakiyo.[93] Tani says Nakai increased his power to organise other builders in Kyoto after 1610, which affected the later construction methods at Hōkō-ji temple which will be mentioned further on in this thesis.[94] Nakai not only acted as a builder, but also secretly provided Tokugawa Ieyasu with information about castle structures – in particular, that of Osaka castle.[95] He and his men also worked as an engineering brigade to support Tokugawa's attacks against the Toyotomi. Tani writes that the Nakai family, as head of the builders, overcame the boundary of domains to rule builders and carpenters across the whole Kinai region. This was possible because the *bakufu*, the Tokugawa shogunate, understood the importance of controlling builders and carpenters in the area. The Tokugawa shogunate not only had the need to rule skilled craftsmen when building castles, but also desired to monopolise men who could serve as an engineering brigade during war.[96] Masakiyo's descendants continued to be in charge of important construction projects in the Kinai region, throughout the Edo period and the family is designated as being the *Kyoto Daiku Gashira*, the head of construction in Kyoto. It is worth mentioning that from 1632, at the time of Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604-1651), the Nakai family were included under the administrative system of construction works, which both Sakuji *bugyō* and Fushimi *bugyō* were in charge of these building projects. Sakuji *bugyō's* rank in the Tokugawa shogunate was higher than that of a *metsuke*, a supervisor for the bakufu.

1.2.2 Toyotomi Hideyoshi's View on Religion

Toyotomi Hideyoshi found it hard to find a balance in the struggle between his authority and powerful religious institutions. Different attitudes exist on understanding the Toyotomi clan's attitude towards religion. In the beginning, Hideyoshi naturally supported

[92]Takahashi Masahiko (ed.) 1983.'Ōkubochōan sōjō' In *Daiku gashira nakaike monjo*, Tokyo: Keiōtsūshi
[93]Tani Naoki, 2005. 'Kinsei toshi to daiku soshiki – daiku gashira nakaike to kyō Osaka', p.183
[94]Ibid., p.196
[95]Ibid., p.199
[96]Ibid., p.201

Nobunaga's policy of being tough on religious institutions that did not obey, or acknowledge the rule of Nobunaga at that time. For example, in 1584 Hideyoshi broke the traditional rule that allowed temples to protect criminals who escaped to them by issuing a law forbidding such actions.[97] He also attacked Negoro-ji temple the following year by setting fire to it. Hideyoshi went on to change land possession rights so that some of the religious institutions territories were taken away. Kuwata Tadachika[98] however states that some researchers and historians believe that Hideyoshi was treating these temples and shrines with a certain form of respect. Although, he personally believes that Hideyoshi was just following the same religious policy as Nobunaga. With the examples stated above, it is evident that Hideyoshi did not treat those religious institutions as special or as immune to opposition.

However, Hideyoshi also made efforts to restore those damaged temples and shrines, the most significant of which was the restoration of Mt. Hiei. In 1584, he allowed the restoration of the Konpon Chūdō, the main religious structure of the Enryaku-ji compound, and donated 2000 koku to the reconstruction efforts.[99] However, the rebuilding of Konpon Chūdo had to wait for another 50 years when the third Tokugawa shogun Iemitsu rebuilt the Konpon Chūdō upon advice provided by Tenkai 南光坊天海 (1536-1643) whos activity will be explained in detail later on. In 1586 the Hiyoshi shrine in Shiga Prefecture, which was previously severely damaged by Nobunaga, was rebuilt with Hideyoshi's support. He also made peace with the Jōdo-Shin sect monk Kōsa Honganji 本願寺光佐 or 本願寺顕 (1543-1592) and allowed him to stay in Osaka. In exchange for his cooperation with Hideyoshi when attacking Negoro-ji in Kishū, Hideyoshi gave land originally possessed by Jōdo-Shin sect to Kōsa in 1591. These as stated above suggest Hideyoshi's intention to restore the relationship with different religious institutions. He also restored other religious institutions in the Kinai region, such as Mt. Kōya, Kōfukuku-ji in Nara and Shitennō-ji in Settsu. Hideyoshi, who considered Christian missionaries as a potential threat, at one time protected Christian Jesuits. This is the same treatment that Nobunaga gave the Christians. However, in 1587 when Hideyoshi conquered Kyūshū, he received a report that Jesuits were involved in human trafficking, and as a consequence he banned Christianity in Japan. According to Kuwata,[100] although Hideyoshi's status as a Sengoku period (1467–1603) general would not have

[97] Kuwata Tadachika, 1975. *Toyotomi Hideyoshi kenkyū*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten
[98] Ibid.
[99] *Enryaku-ji monjo,* 1st day 5th month 1584
[100] Kuwata Tadachka, 1975. *Toyotomi Hideyoshi kenkyū*

immediately identified him as a follower of Buddhism, up to this point in history it is unclear as to which religion or sect he was affiliated with.

Kuwata summarised[101] that Hideyoshi's restoration of Buddhism was an extension of a policy made by Nobunaga, and that Hideyoshi was acting as the governor of the nation in his treatment of it. He protected temples that obeyed him and punished those which did not. He also restored damaged religious sites and tried to promote the further development of Buddhism as a state religion. Hideyoshi disliked the Jesuits' violation of the rules and by expelling them Hideyoshi indicated an intention to have Buddhism confirmed as a national religion. Although I understand Kuwata's statement and agree with the idea that Hideyoshi's policy-making against religious institutions was based on that of Nobunaga's, I do not completely agree with his understanding of Hideyoshi's choice of Buddhism to be a state religion. If Hideyoshi's aim was to stand against Christianity as a belief system and he wanted only Buddhism to be the state religion, Hideyoshi would not have told Western representatives, such as Pedro Martins in 1596, that he did not oppose Christianity.[102]

It is possible that Kuwata's idea of Buddhism as a state religion came from an order issued by Hideyoshi. In 1587 Hideyoshi issued the edict called *osadamegaki*, which is also known as the *bateren tsuihō rei*, the edict to expel Christian priests. In this edict he states that, since Japan is the country of the gods, it is outrageously inappropriate to receive laws from Christian countries.[103]

Mizumoto Kunihiko states that this concept of Japan as the 'country of the gods' frequently appears in many records during the Sengoku period and that it was a socially accepted concept.[104] However, when coming back to the argument made by Kuwata, Hideyoshi did not specifically use the word 'Buddhism' when issuing this order to expel Christian missionaries. This is because Buddhism and Shinto had become inseparably mixed during this period, and this combination of religions reflected most people's understanding of their faith. This idea of Buddhism as the state religion does not reflect the reality of the time.

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[101] Ibid., p.358

[102] Timon Screech, 2012. 'The English and the control of Christianity in the early Edo period' In John Breen (ed.) *Japan Review 24.* International Research Centre for Japanese Studies, p.3-40

[103] Kuwata Tadachka, 1975. *Toyotomi Hideyoshi kenkyū,* p.358

[104] Mizumoto Kunihiko, 2008. *Zenshū nihon no rekishi vol. 10 Tokugawa no kokka dezain*. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, p.175-176

There are historical documents stating how Hideyoshi was viewed when Toyotomi clan were still in power, which were written by Ōta Gyūichi,[105] a samurai who served both Hideyoshi and Hideyori. He added that this was possible because Hideyoshi was virtuous, that everyone from above and below endlessly mourned Hideyoshi's death. In his later record[106] of *Taikōsama Gunki no Uchi* he described the reign of Hideyoshi as a time of gold and other treasures, when wealth spread to everyone, and there were no beggars and untouchables on the street.[107] As read from above, Ōta praised Hideyoshi's reign highly. This is no surprise since he served Hideyoshi from around 1587 and died 1613, before Tokugawa destroyed Toyotomi clan.

Yamaga Sokō also comments on the time of Hideyoshi in his works. Yamaga was a Confucian philosopher who also studied military strategy. In *Buke Jikki* (1673) he writes extensively about the history of the samurai and describes Hideyoshi as fearless and loyal to Nobunaga. He also describes Hideyoshi as a great strategist who made difficult missions successful. Yamaga also praised his act of sending troops to Korea, saying that Hideyoshi accomplished a display of Japan's military power to a different territory, which was something which had not happened since the time of Empress Jingū.[108] Yamaga Sokō's understanding of Hideyoshi in the second half of the 17th century indicates that, even at that time, some people praised the achievement of Hideyoshi. However, these kinds of descriptions could be mainly found in texts written by unofficial writers. Official writings such as Arai Hakuseki's *Tokushi Yoron* and *Tokugawa Jikki* continued to take a severe attitude towards the Toyotomi clan.

Introducing a different perspective from a non Japanese person gives us a unique insight on how Hideyoshi was viewed. Bernardino de Avira Giron, a Spanish merchant and trader who arrived in Japan in the year 1594 and presumably spent the rest of his life (at least until the third month of 1619) there,[109] left a record called *Rilasion del Reino de Nippon*. Only three copies of this work were ever published in Spain due to the political turmoil caused by the Spanish civil war. According to *Rilasion del Reino de Nippon,* Hideyoshi served Nobunaga even when others were exhausted. At the beginning he was not cruel, and he was respected by

[105] He is also called Ōta Ushikazu or Goichi (1527-1613)
[106] Otagyū Ichi, 1610. *Taikōsama gunki no utchi*
[107] Otagyū Ichi, 1604. *Toyōkuni daimyogi ringi gosairei kiroku*
[108] Yamaga Sokō, 1673. *Bukejiki*
[109] Liam Mathew Brockey (ed.) (2008) *Portugese collonial cities in the early modern world*. USA: Michigan State University, p.78

everyone. Hideyoshi was sharp and fast, he liked to create order as a great politician and he hoped for the happiness of ordinary people. Giron says this was because Jesus Christ, who holds every king's heart in his hands, gave a noble, honest, courageous spirit to a man who used to be a lowly firewood gatherer, and that the Japanese said that he was a miracle which they had never seen before.[110] This shows how Hideyoshi's power at that time transcended the beliefs of different religions and the scepticism of foreigners.

1.2.3 Tokugawa's View on Religion

Tokugawa Hideyoshi's view of Japan as the 'country of the gods' is explained by an idea known as *Hua-Yui* distinction, or *kaishisō* in Japanese. This idea originated in China as a way of viewing the world in a hierarchical order, and it placed the Han Chinese as the centre of the world and the highest in the hierarchical order. This idea is nothing more than ethnocentrism when seen from today's understanding of the world, but it was dominant during the Sengoku period and through the 17th century.[111]

There is another side to this concept, where *kaishisō* is a political principle to rule in light of the tense relationships between other nations. It therefore functioned to justify the making of policies, rather than as an aim to create policy itself.[112] When new authorities established themselves, they used this idea to try and justify their hegemony over Japan. This is likely because it was the easiest, and perhaps the most convincing, way to define less valued, barbaric and potential subjects to conquer. It was also seen as the most useful tool when they considered the prospect of unifying Japan as a whole. When paintings were commissioned by those in authority, this idea was reflected in the artwork. For example, one *Edozu byōbu* (folding screens portraying Edo) illustrates the Korean emissaries as they are showing their respect for the Tokugawa shogunate.[113]

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[110] Bernardino De Avira Giron (1965-1973) *Nihon ōkokuki (Rilación del Reino de Nippon).* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten

[111] Asao Naohiro, 1970. 'Sakokusei no seiritsu'In *Rekishigaku kenkyūkai and nihonshi kenkyūkai, kōza nihonshi vol.4, bakuhansei shakai.*Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, p.59-94

[112] Arano Yasunori, 2000. 'Kinsei higashi ajia no kokusai kankeiron to hyōryūmin sōkan taisei' In *Shien vol. 60.* Tokyo: Rikkyō University, p.33-39

[113] Matsushima Jin, 2010. '<Chūka> no shōzō, aruiwa Tokugawa nihon no serufu imeiji – Kanō Tan`yū to hayashi gahō wo meguru gaji ni miru, iwayuru <nihon gata kai chitsujo> no hyō shō wo megutte' In Nishiyama Mika (ed.) *Higashi Ajia wo musubu mono · ba.* Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan

The mental and practical processing of this idea of *kaishisō* continued even up to the time of Iemitsu's reign. It was, as Arano Yasunori pointed out, practised through the transmission of the concept between the shogunate, the Imperial family, religious institutions, daimyo, and farmers. Thus, those in authority of the time had to treat religious institutions with care – not only because they possess powerful monks who could rise up and potentially stand against them, but because they needed the religious institutions to support and justify the rule of both Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu. Nomura says that it was "a process to reorganise *Kamigami* (gods), who support Iemitsu", in reference to Iemitsu's view of Japan as the 'country of the gods'. However, it was not only Iemitsu who held this view, as it was an opinion inherited from the time of Hideyoshi.[114]

Asao Naohiro states that the authority of the shogun was created by fighting against both the Christians' and farmers' uprisings. Most significant example of this was Shimabara Rebellion in 1637, where farmers who are radicalised through Christianity stood against the Tokugawa shogunate in Shimabara, Nagasaki prefecture. Nomura Gen deduced that the shogun's authority was not in a stable situation at the second half of the Kan'ei period (1624-1644), since the shogunate had to suppress the farmers as well as decide whether to engage in wars with Christian countries. Because other nearby countries were attacked by Western countries at that time Iemitsu felt a need to face the reality of the overwhelming military power possessed by European countries, thus he didn't want to attract any unnecessary attention in order to avoid invasion. In addition, he needed to unite Japan's internal warring factions in order to prevent an invasion by another country. Iemitsu tried to cooperate with the Imperial family, controlled the daimyo, applied austerity measures and established a classification system. Even so, domestic administration had to be re-examined due to famine in the Kan'ei period, as both daimyo and farmers were severely affected. According to Nomura, this is why Iemitsu's planned visit to Kyoto between 1641 and 1644 was cancelled.[115]

Itō Shinshō analysed how Tokugawa Ieyasu and his authorities tried to control religious institutions through the collected manuscripts of a monk, Saishō Jōtai (1548-1608). Saishō Jōtai was a Rinzai sect monk who was active at both Shōkoku-ji and Nanzen-ji, and who acted as the head of *Rokuon Sōroku* which controls the whole Rinzai sect. He is also remembered

[114]Nomura Gen, 2006. *Nihon kinsei kokka no kakuritsu to tennō.* Osaka: Seibundō
[115]Ibid., p.44-45

for playing an important role in representing Hideyoshi as a negotiator to Ming dynasty officials in 1592, and serving as a negotiator for Ieyasu in 1600 when he needed to deal with the Uesugi clan. Itō states that Saishō Jōtai's role as a negotiator and ambassador has been researched, but no research has been conducted in terms of understanding the relationship between the authorities and temples and shrines. Saishō was known as *Nihon terabugyō* by Kōfuku-ji monks. Although there was no such official post controlling all temples at that time, *Nihon terabugyō* means "magistrate of temples of Japan". As Saishō was working for Ieyasu, Itō's use of Saishō's history in order to reveal the relationship between authorities and temples and shrines is an important point of reference. In 1601, Gien of Daigo-ji temple recorded that Saishō Jōtai received orders regarding temples and shrines from Ieyasu.[116] Itō presumes Saishō Jōtai was appointed to this role due to his previous career as the head of Rokuon Sōroku, which was also close to the Toyotomi clan, and because he played a leading role as Zen monk at the 'thousand monk's ceremony' at the Hōkō-ji temple and was therefore well known.[117] Saishō Jōtai then started to become involved exclusively in dealing with lawsuits involving religious institutes. Itō summarises that there are 84 such lawsuits recorded in the *Saishō Oshō Mon An*.[118][119] Interestingly, from Itō's research it appears that most of the letters exchanged by Saishō Jōtai were from within the Kinai area[120] except for the cases of Izumo shrine and Hikosan shrine.[121] This suggests that Saishō Jōtai was appointed as a gate keeper for temples and shrines in the Kinai area from 1597-1607. Itō points out that the role of Saishō Jōtai indicates that both Ieyasu and Hidetada did not have absolute power to make decisions on how temples were run inside the Kinai during the time of Saishō.[122] Saishō also acted as an agent of Ieyasu in dealing with different religious institutions in Kinai such as, Rinzai, Sōtō, Tendai, Shingon sects.[123] After Saishō's death in 1608, Kanshitsu Genkitsu 閑室元佶 (1548-1612) took over his role. He was also the head of Nanzen-ji temple and then became head of Enkō-ji temple of Fushimi, which Ieyasu built in 1601. This time Tokugawa shogunate officials, such as Itakura Katsushige 板倉勝重 (1545-1624), who was the head of Kyoto *Shoshidai* (in

[116]Itō Shinshou, 1994. 'Keichōki ni okeru Tokugawa Ieyasu to kinai jisha – 'saishō oshō monan' no bunseki o toushite' In *Machikaneyama ronsō shigaku hen vol. 28*. Osaka Prefecture: Osaka University, p.59
[117]Kuwata Tadachka, 1975. *Toyotomi Hideyoshi kenkyū,* p.59-64
[118]Ito Masaaki, Tarada Masatoshi, Akimune Yasuko and Ueda Junichi, 2007. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan
[119] Within which the lawsuits on territorial issues are 26 and administrational lawsuits are 24, but there are many cases where the content of the record is unclear.
[120]These are including Kawachi, Ki'i, Ōmi, Yamashiro and Yamato
[121]Kuwata Tadachka, 1975. *Toyotomi Hideyoshi kenkyū,* p.64-66
[122]Ibid., p.75-76
[123]Ibid., p.76-77

charge of maintaining the security of Kyoto), co-signed all subsequent lawsuits. This shows that the Tokugawa shogunate was gaining increasing power in terms of controlling religious institutions.

Upon Saishō's death in 1608 Ishin Sūden 以心崇伝 (1569-1633) was invited by Ieyasu to Sunpu, the ruler's base at the time. Like Saishō Jōtai, Ishin Sūden was a Rinzai monk. He studied at Daigo-ji temple and later became head of the Kenchō-ji temple. In 1605, Ishin also became the head of the Nanzen-ji temple. In historical documents, he is also known as Konchiin Sūden, because he lived in a major sub-temple called Konchi-in.[124] Tamamuro states that Ishin Sūden acted as a central figure to the government of the time, and he represented the interests of religious institutions in terms of government and politics.[125] Tamamuro refers back to the diary of a Daigo-ji monk, Gien, who in 1614 wrote that religious institutions sent letters and documents regarding creating a new role for existing temples.[126] This indicates Ishin Sūden's involvement in legislative issues of the temples, therefore showing the entangled relationship between religion and politics. He comments that legislation regarding religious institutions, which was part of law between 1501 and 1615, was co-managed by the Tokugawa shogunate and Ishin Sūden. Ishin represented the interests of the religious institutions, including his own temple Nanzen-ji, and it meant that the the shogunate did have absolute power over the creation of laws and legislation. During this period of history, ordinary citizens were not asked to cover the expenses of building temples and shrines, because at this time the Tokugawa shogunate did not rule the whole of Japan. Even though religious institutions were still powerful during this period, the Tokugawa shogunate attempted to force Buddhist sects to accept the new order of things. Tokugawa issued a number of new rules to each religious sect during this time, including to the Jōdo sect, Rinzai sect, Sōtō sect, Shingon sect and Tendai sect. These laws were not issued to either the Nichiren sect or Ikkō sect. Tamamuro gives explanations of why these two sects were excluded, the primary reasons being that both were supported by ordinary people. The citizens had historically shown resilience towards authority, and this had some effect in protecting the sects from the shogunate's new laws.[127] Tsuji

[124]He is also called as Honkō Kokushi by his descendent and as the 'Black robed minister', 'Bad nation master of the greedy mountain arrogant temple' and famously a monk Takuan at Daitoku-ji temple called him as 'Temma gedo' which literally means devil heretic.
[125]Tamamuro Fumio, 1971. *Edo bakuhu no shūkyō tousei – nihonjin no kōdō to shisou vol. 16*. Tokyo: Hyōronsha, p.21
[126]Ibid., p.22
[127]Tamamuro Fumio, 1971. *Edo bakuhu no shūkyō tousei – nihonjin no kōdō to shisou vol. 16*, p.20-21

Zennosuke describes the attitude of the Tokugawa shogunate against both the Nichiren and Ikkō sects, which was to simply ignore them.[128]

During the Keichō period (1596-1615), Tokugawa made decisions on disputes which were not solved between the parties concerned. The shogunate's involvement continued in this way until 1615, when the Tokugawa shogunate declared the superiority of the Tokugawa authority over all religious institutions.[129]

Looking at the research conducted by Itō, Tamamuro and Somada, it becomes evident that the Tokugawa clan firstly used a monk who was closely connected with Hideyoshi to learn how to process problems that occurred within powerful religious institutions. This in itself was not a new idea, as the previous Toyotomi clan conducted similar practices. However, when Saishō passed away Tokugawa moved to increase the shogunate's control over religion in Japan by appointing Ishin Sūden, who worked with Tokugawa clan officers such as Itakura Katsushige and other monks including Gien at Daigo-ji temple and Kanshitsu Genkitsu at Enkō-ji. Despite Ieyasu's desire to take control of the religious institutes, the Tokugawa clan had to wait until 1615 to obtain absolute control over religious institutions.

Sūden dealt not only with Buddhist temples, but also with powerful Shinto institutions. One of these was Yoshida shrine, which became the headquarters for Yoshida Shinto established in the 15th century.[130] The Yoshida family continued to expand their religious presence following the foundation of Yoshida Shinto. This can be seen in a diary written by Shinryūin Bonshun 神龍院梵舜 (1553-1632), who was the younger brother of Yoshida Kanemi 吉田兼見 (1535-1610).[131] Both Yoshida Kanemi and his brother Bonshun became heads of Toyokuni shrine in Kyoto in 1599, and later they became closer to Ieyasu and Sūden. Bonshun donated various books to Ieyasu and Itakura Katsushige 板倉勝重 (1545-1624) (a magistrate of Kyoto of the time), and gave his opinions on Shinto issues. He was also asked to

[128]Tsuji Zennosuke, 1970.*Ni hon bukkyōshi vol. 8 kinsei hen vol. 2*, Tokyo: Iwanami shoten
[129]Somada Yoshio, 2003. 'Bakuhan kenryoku to jiin monzeki, shibunkaku chapter 3' In Suito Makoto and Kato Takashi (ed.) 2000. *Edozu byōby wo yomu*. Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan
[130]It was established by Yoshida Kanetomo, a Shinto priest who stood against the idea of both Ise or Watarai Shinto and byōbu Shinto, which came from Shingon sect Buddhism Shinto and interpret Shinto while Ise Shinto was established by a priest at Ise shrine. He was trying to unify the Shinto ideology by increasing his presence in the Muromachi shogunate and about the idea of the syncretism of Shinto and Buddhism.
[131]Takagi Shōsaku, 2003. *Minzoku wo tou vol.2 shōgun kenrjoku to tennō*. Tokyo: Aoki Shoten

copy several documents at the request of Sūden.[132] Bonshun is known to have met with Ieyasu and Sūden together[133] on the 17th day of the 4th month in 1613.[134]Above facts indicate how Sūden influenced on Shinto and how Shinto priest, who once served for the Toyotomi clan, considered that it is important to maintain a relationship.

Tamamuro Fumio states that laws issued before 1615 essentially aimed to strengthen the system of *Honzan Matsuji*, the system that gave the head temples control over their branch temples. Although both the Ikkō and Nichiren sects were still completely untouched, this practice had already started in the Kantō region. In the Kinai region, because of the presence of the Toyotomi clan the Tokugawa shogunate postponed enforcement of this system until they destroyed the Toyotomi clan.[135]

Kumakura Isao states that the years between 1613 and 1616 hold significant meaning in the cultural history of Japan. During this time, the shogunate's protection of different cultures ended, together with the siege of Osaka and the establishment of a unified authority. The ability for a retainer to try and supplant his lord was eliminated, which is represented by laws issued towards Imperial households and the shogun New Year's ceremony of 1616. In religion this could be seen by laws issued in 1615.[136]

Tamamuro states that these changes of the Honzan Matsuji system which were led by the Tokugawa shogunate, were made for specific reasons by the Tokugawa shogunate and the religious institutions themselves.[137] Tamamuro gives four reasons from the government's aim for making these changes in the religious system. The shogunate wanted to take away the land possessed by religious institutions, as well as take away the right of religious institutions' autonomous area of protection where other institutions cannot exert their influence. The shogunate intended to create a ruling system of the shogunate's policy making of religious issues that could be easily controlled through the head temple to the sub temples. They also felt an urgency to decrease powers possessed by religious institutions, as Toyotomi Hideyori

[132]Examples of these donations of books could be seen in the 27th day of the 3rd month 1602, 21st day of the 5th month of the same year etc.
[133]Shinryūin Bonshun, 1583-1632. Shunkyūki In, 2014. *Shunkyūki Shiryō Hensan Kokirokuhen Vol, 2*; Tokyo: Yagi Shoen
[134]Tsuji Zennosuke, 1952. *Nihon bukkyōshi kinsei hen vol.2*. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, p.1-7
[135]Tamamuro Fumio, 1971. *Edo bakuhu no shūkyō tousei – nihonjin no kōdō to shisou vol. 16*,p.45-46
[136]Kumakura Isao, 1988. *Kane bunka no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan
[137]Tamamuro Fumio, 1987. *Nihon bukkyō shi – kinsei*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan

豊臣秀頼 (1593-1615) attempted to get religious institutions on their side at the end of his reign by giving additional protection to the temples.

Religious institutions also benefited by accepting the laws issued towards religious institutions. For instance, the head temples gained the shogunate's public acceptance which allowed them to expand their political power to control the sub-temples. Additionally, because large religious institutes were no longer able to run their own territory they felt the need to gain income from the sub temples. It was important for smaller, newly emerging temples to be affiliated with the larger temples. These were the reasons for success of the Tokugawa shogunate's control over religious institutions.

Together with issuing laws for the headquarter temples controlling the sub temples the Tokugawa shogunate also issued a law that stated no new temples could be built without the head temple's approval. When almost all the religious sects had accepted the new laws, the shogunate ordered a report listing to all head temples and their sub temples, in order to grasp which sub temples were controlled by which main temples. This meant that Tokugawa Iemitsu controlled the entire network of religious institutions upon receipt of those documents. This governmental control over religious institutions expanded through the 17th century.[138]

1.3 Visual Materials

In order to discuss the nature of paintings that depict cities, it is important to understand what differentiates them from what we normally call a 'map'. This is not an easy task since, unlike today people of the time did not clearly separate the roles of paintings and maps. In this thesis, images will be split into three categories in order to understand how images in the 16th to 18th centuries were used.

Firstly, there are images that have rich, and sometimes colourful depictions of buildings and other natural aspects such as trees, lakes and mountains. This includes landscape paintings, paintings for pilgrimage, genre paintings and paintings of cities. The second group consists of images with simple black ink lines and blank space, and sometimes canals with blue ink, with

[138]Takano Toshihiko, 1989. Kinsei nihon no kokka kenryoku to shūkyō. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, p.83-116

the names of buildings written in by hand. These are maps for indicating someone's territory, which mainly functioned as a legal and legislative record. The final group of images, and the most complex in terms of categorisation, consists of a mixture of the above two types of images. In this third group the most significant sites, such as religious sites and residences, are depicted in a way that we would normally recognise as appearing in a painting, while other, less significant, features of the area, such as fields and rivers are depicted symbolically in a style more commonly found on a map.

The term *ezu*, meaning 'picture image' or 'picture map', is the most appropriate and commonly used Japanese term to describe and categorise the last group of images. The key difference between maps and *ezu* in this context is that a map has only symbolised depictions of an object, whereas *ezu* works also have artistically depicted objects in addition to what a map would typically present. Ozawa Hiromu, in his work on the paintings of cities, differentiates between the concept of a map and an *ezu*;[139] however, according to Ozawa, an *ezu* is just a form of pictorial expression allowing a map and a painting to co-exist in the same image. He makes no clear definition of the role of paintings in depicting a city, and does not make a strong distinction between the three categories described above. His treatment of both maps and *ezu* as if they have no clear difference to each other is part of his intention to analyse images that depict a city as a whole. In the case of *ezu*, the main reason behind it is to display territorial information about a certain geographical area. Paintings of the city, on the other hand, include not only territorial information, but also other elements, which will be discussed in detail later. This is the primary reason why paintings of a city are different from maps and *ezu*.

One of the most commonly encountered *ezu* in this category is the *shōen ezu*, which literally means 'manor picture map'. In this type of picture map, areas outside of the territory shown are usually left completely blank or simply indicate the names of the other land owners. Another picture map which is not widely mentioned today is *shiro ezu* or 'castle picture map'. These are not pictures in the strictest sense of the word, but in some cases express the idea of the castle in its physical form, the rest of the picture forming the map. For example, the Tokugawa shogunate ordered other daimyo to submit a *shiro ezu* of their own castle and its surroundings. The purpose of this was for the shogunate to know the layout of each castle and

[139] Ozawa Hiromu, 2002. Toshizu no keifu to edo. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan

gain a tactical advantage should they need it. The image of *Aki Hiroshima* indicates the moat and dyke around the castle and the name and use of each section of the land, but the only thing that was painted in detail was the castle itself.[140]

Another type of map, *jōka ezu,* depicts both the castle and the town that extends around the castle. Sometimes, according to Yamori Kazuhiko[141] *jōka ezu* not only depict the castle but both the castle and the townas a whole. Other versions only depict the area around the castle and leave the area of the castle blank. These were made as a whole map, or as part of city planning as something the domain could use and had to submit to the external authority, such as the bakufu. Most of them exist as a simple flat image with the description of territorial borders with the name of the land owner with woods, mountains and castles depicted in a pictorial format. Some were created solely with ink, and other maps included colour.

Keichō Edo Ezu (Fig. 1) is one of the earliest visual sources which describes the territory of Edo.

Fig. 1: *Keichō Edo Ezu* (c. 1608)

[140]Yamori Kazuhiko, 1974. *Toshizu no rekishi nihongo hen*. Tokyo: Kōdansha
[141]Ibid., p.82-110

This image views the city from above, and depicts every single house and street, in order to understand the exact scale of the city. Each area is carefully depicted and the name of the land and house owner of every single household is included. People are not depicted at all, and there is no representation of nature other than the river and a tiny green space. This trend continues in the case of *Bushū Toshimagun Edonoshō zu*. (Fig. 2)

Fig. 2: *Bushū Toshimagun Edo no Shō Zu* (1632)

In this *ezu* Edo castle is depicted realistically, yet the surrounding natural features are depicted in a similar way to how they would be in paintings. Although the primary aim of this visual source is to function as a map, ships can be seen sailing on the water. As previously stated, each house is meticulously labelled with names, and directions are described within the visual image. This can be seen in maps and other *ezu* published in Kyoto. These were created with the intention to prevent future disputes about territory, and therefore are not paintings which have space to reflect the creator's ideal image of the area.

In general, *ezu* were made on *washi* paper and folded, just as a standard map would be. These maps had the primary aim of providing information regarding the ownership of the land, and did not necessarily include, prioritise or even reflect how the makers of the maps viewed the city. As stated before, the aim of this thesis is to understand the mindset of the people when creating the city, and how visual images were used as examples. Maps do not typically possess

the core characteristics with which to indicate the subject and are concerned only with territorial issues. Therefore, these maps will not be explained in detail.

We can first see the word 'capital' used to describe the main subject of a painting in the late 15th century. *Haretomi Sukune Ki*, the diary of aristocrat Mibu Haretomi 壬生晴富 (1422-1497),[142] uses the word *rakuchū zu* in 1479 to refer to repairs on the emperor's palace. The word *rakuchū* means 'inside the capital' and given the time of the work, this capital clearly indicates Kyoto. Another aristocrat, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455-1537), left a diary with more detailed descriptions. He wrote that a folding screen painting that depicts *Kyō uchi*, the 'Inner Capital', was commissioned by feudal lord Asakura Sadakage (1473-1512) in 1506. The diary continues that the work is a 'new image', or *shinga*, painted by Tosa Mitsunobu 土佐光信 (1434-1525). Tosa Mitsunobu was born into an official painter's family, known as the Tosa School, and he was already well known as a talented painter by the time this work was created. His official status at the highest-ever rank for a painter confirms his importance in the painting scene of the time. However, it is difficult to know what exactly 'new image' means in this context: it could be a new style, a new subject or a new size. However, this diary by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka, a high official, mentioning a work by a talented official school painter and commissioned by a feudal lord, makes the idea of images of the capital as a prominent subject matter in paintings much more credible.

Even so, these paintings depict only a part of the capital. Despite a lack of availability of this kind of painting of the time today, this fact is known because of the pictorial stylistic tradition of *tsukinami`e*, which is a series of paintings which depicts seasonal rituals and events. The origin of this style potentially dates back to the 10th century, from which time no paintings now survive. We know of their existence through comments in collections of *waka* poems, in which reference is made to *tsukinami`e* depicting the scenes described in the poems. Unlike paintings that previously existed, which have roots in the Chinese pictorial tradition, *tsukinami'e* were painted in the *yamato'e* style, which uses a softer method of expressing its subjects. As *tsukinami'e* developed in the 15th century, artists began to take inspiration not only observing scenes from *waka* poems, but also aspects of genre painting as their subject matter, and painters in the Chinese style also started to create paintings of this kind.

[142] Harutomisukuneki

According to Kōno Michiaki, the Japanese believed that peace was attained by the protection of the gods. *Tsukinami'e* were therefore created in order to perform the dual function of pleasing the gods and acting as a form of prayer, which is why they were displayed at the Imperial Court.[143] In this sense, *tsukinami'e* are both religious and political. The most relevant example of this would be the 'Festivals of the Twelve Months' or *Tsukinami Saireizu Mohon*.

The first definition of *mohon* is a book that copies the original book. And the second definition is a model for learning words or images as well as the copied image of an original.[144]

Fig. 3: A part of *Tsukinami Sairei Zu* Edo-period copy of Muromachi-period folding screens

The image above is of a copy of the original which was made in the Edo period. The work consists of six hanging scroll paintings, with the original presumed to be a single folding screen with six panels. Due to the subject matter depicted in the surviving copy: i.e. spring and summer festivals from right to left, such as; Sagichō festival or Tondo, the Rooster Fighting, Aoi festival and Gion festival, it is surmised that there were likely another six panels depicting

[143]Kōno Michiaki, 1996. 'Nihonjin wa naze shikikousaku zu wo konondaka' In Reizei, T. (ed.) 1996. *Mizuho no kuni nihon—shikikousakuzu no sekai.* Tokyo: Tankōsha
[144]Akira Matsumura (ed.) 2006. *Daijirin*.Tokyo: Sanseidō Shoten

autumn and winter festivals in Kyoto. This folding screen was believed to have been the work of Tosa Mitsunobu himself, but this claim has been queried in recent times. There is an argument that the scenes depicting Kyoto are not from the same time period as when Mitsunobu was active as a painter. According to Kojima Michihiro, the original painting was made between 1542 and 1545 as a gift to Hosokawa Harumoto's (1514-1563) birth place of Awa.[145] A notable point is that Hosokawa Harumoto was governing Kyoto during the time this painting was made, and Awa was trying to reform its own town by imitating the city design of Kyoto. This suggests that the painting was referred to by the high officials of Awa for information about city planning.

At a time when people did not have access to accurate aerial images, except for the view from the top of a mountain, this method of depiction is a rare clue to what a city may look like as a whole. However, these images of a city do not necessarily provide information based entirely on reality.

1.3.1 Rakuchū Rakugai Zu

Rakuchū rakugai zu is a genre of Japanese screen painting in the early days of Kyoto dating back to the late Heian period (794-1185) which translates to 'views in and around the city of Kyoto'. The style depicts the city from above, in a 'bird's eye view'. *Rakuchū rakugai zu* were mainly painted on regular or gilded paper, which was then applied directly to the screens. The early examples of *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* tend to be larger, except *Rekihaku Kōhon*, which is shorter. From the four surviving *rakuchū rakugai zu* we know that the height of the artworks is usually 160cm and the width 364cm. In comparison, the *Rekihaku Kōhon* was only 138cm high. The size of this screen is categorized as *hongen byōbu*. A number of different mediums were used in creating each painting, including ink and mineral pigments for colouring such as - powdered calcium carbonate and gold. Gold was often used to form clouds in the paintings, making them sparkle and giving the painting the impression of being real and alive.

[145]Kojima Hiromichi, 2009. *Bunka kagaku kenkyū vol.5.* Tokyo: Sōgō Kenkyū Daigakuin Daigaku

Over 100 *rakuchū rakugai zu* still survive today. Several of these are important from a historical perspective, and others support the theory of screen paintings holding 'iconic' status at the time.

This concept of 'iconic' works can be compared to the idea of 'canon' and 'canonical images' in Western art history theory. There are many definitions of canonical art and some of them are -

1) "According to the best known version, Levinson's intentional-historical definition, an artwork is a thing that has been seriously intended for regard in any way pre-existing or prior artworks are or were correctly regarded."[146]
2) "A work is art by comparison to the works in the canon, or conversely, any aesthetic law to be valid should not rule out any of the works included in the canon."[147]
3) As Stephen Davies has noted: "Non-Western art, or alien, autonomous art of any kind appears to pose a problem for historical views: any autonomous art tradition or artworks — terrestrial, extra-terrestrial, or merely possible — causally isolated from our art tradition, is either ruled out by the definition, which seems to be a reduction, or included, which concedes the existence of a supra-historical concept of art."[148]

The explanation of 'canonical' images describes the relationship between each 'iconic' painting and less 'iconic' images that essentially follow the same subject matter, composition and style. However, this theory is not sufficient to explain what happened between both 'iconic' *rakuchū rakugai zu* and *edo zu* images.

Through the similarities and shared aspects of two or more paintings, the viewer can more easily recognise when an image is canonical. It is beyond my ability to examine the credibility of my understanding of this theory when it is applied to an international sense, but I feel that this theory, which might be easier to describe with the term 'fugue' from the Western musical terminology, was strongly practiced in the Japanese art, not only in paintings, but also in other categories. This will be further examined in Chapter 3, but this strongly resembles when applying the Japanese concept of *honkadori* practice where the essence of an iconic

[146]Jerrold Levinson, 1990. 'Musical Literacy' In *Journal of Aesthetic Education, 24(1) Special Issue: Cultural Literacy and Arts Education*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press
[147]Leo Tolstoy (1898) *What is Art?.* London: Penguin, p.164
[148]Lydia Ruby, *The definition of art.* Art canon website [Online] Available from: https://artcanon.wordpress.com/text/art-definition/ [Accessed: 28th May 2015]

subject is taken and then transformed into a canonical piece which prepositions this iconic work. Like in the case of *fugue* music which often appeared in the Western Baroque musical scene, iconic work templates became a foundation for new creations of the following works which created a different form yet still reminded the audience about the core of the original.

Art historians refer to *rakuchū rakugai zu* in a number of different ways - *rakuchū rakugai, rakuchū rakugai zu, rakuchū rakugai no zu* and *rakuchū rakugai no byōbu*. All of these names are essentially identical, and for the purposes of this thesis the folding screens will be referred to as *rakuchū rakugai zu*.

The definition of 'inside the city' and where this border extends outside of Kyoto was clearly defined at the time. When the phrase '*rakuchū rakugai zu*' first came into common usage, people did not include the east side of the river Kamo as *rakuchū* (inside of the city). However, as time went by and the city developed with an increase in population in the 17th century, the locations of the Gion shrines were considered as the borderline of the city. From this, we can see that the way that people interpreted *rakuchū* had changed. The *rakugai* the area outside of Kyoto, it extended from the mountains that surround Kyoto.

In the Heian period, the borders of Kyoto were defined as south of the Ichijō street and north of the Kujō street, west of the Kyōgoku and east of Suzaku street. The outer area of Kyoto was once called *hendo*, but the word *rakugai* came into common usage around the end of the 15th century. *Hendo* includes places like Shirakawa alongside the Kamogawa River and the western part of Kyoto. Hideyoshi followed the understanding of Kyoto shared by the people of the Heian period. There is a record called *Muromachidono Nikki*, which is believed to have been written by a person who served the Muromachi shogunate, upon the request of a daimyo called Maeda Gen'i 前田玄以 (1539-1602) at the beginning of the 17th century. In that record, Hideyoshi asks his fellow daimyo Hosokawa Yūsai 細川幽斎 (1534-1610) – "Define *rakuchū* to me", so the daimyo answers: "East is up to Kyōgoku, west is up to Suzaku, north is up to Kamoguchi and south is up to Kujō"… "East of Aburakōji is Sakon, west is Ukon, Ukyō is Chōan, Sakyō is named *rakuyō*". Hideyoshi then said that "there needs to be a clear definition of what *rakuchū* and *rakugai* are". This is the point at which Hideyoshi decided to build the Odoi dike 御土居 that surrounds the area where Hosokawa defined Kyoto. This then defined the inside and outside of Kyoto in the second half of the 16th century to end of the 16th

century, despite the fact that Kyoto was severely damaged by the Ōnin war between 1467 and 1477 and the capital struggled to recover until the time of Hideyoshi.

This record also indicates the likelihood of the crucial moments when Hideyoshi understood that the capital of Japan was named for the two greatest cities of China. This may have first sparked the idea of replicating the powerful and important aspects of cities in his mind. In this particular case it was not only cities, but capitals, and this might have led Hideyoshi to contemplate how he wanted his Kyoto to be built in the final years of his life.

The first appearance of paintings depicting Kyoto is recorded in the diary of Sanjōnishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455-1537) in 1506.[149] In his diary, he wrote about a folding screen painting that depicts Kyoto. This painting was shown to him by his cousin Kanroji Motonaga 甘露寺元長 (1456-1527), and the painting was ordered by the Asakura clan in the Tajima region (present day Hyōgo prefecture). The painter was said to be one of the most significant painters of the time, Tosa Mitsunobu, who was the head of Tosa painting school. From this diary we know that it was made for Asakura Sadakage 朝倉貞景 (1473-1512) who had previously stayed in Kyoto with his army. Presumably he ordered Tosa to paint the picture of Kyoto at this time. This Sanjōnishi's diary is the earliest surviving record which indicates that this type of painting was commissioned by both a militarily and financially powerful person who had the resources and status to commission the best available painter of the time. This tendency continued throughout the journal, especially in the first half of the records. Unfortunately, there is no confirmation of what was or was not specifically depicted in the painting, because the image no longer exists. However, there are four surviving examples of early *rakuchū rakugai zu* from the mid 16th century which give us an idea of what might have been depicted and possibly what Kyoto represented at this time.

The physical characteristics of *rakuchū rakugai zu* are well explained in work by Matthew McKelway.[150] He outlines six points which define *rakuchū rakugai zu* works and here I summarise those points:

[149]Kojima Michihiro, 2009. *Egakareta sengokuno Kyoto - rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu wo yomu.* Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p.3

[150]Matthew Philip McKelway,2006. *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval: Kyoto*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, p.14-27

1. They are conceived on paired folding screens, usually consisting of six panels, or folds, each
2. Each screen presents the city and its surroundings in contrasting directions, from different aerial perspectives
3. They depict the city's urban space in the lower half of each screen and the mountains and city's outskirts as a background in the upper half
4. They employ abundant gold, usually to form loosely connected patterns of clouds, but also to define a ground plane
5. They depict the capital's grid plan by setting east-west streets on parallel diagonals and north-south streets on parallel horizontals
6. They are enlivened by the depiction of hundreds, often thousands, of figures

The images used as reference points throughout this thesis were commissioned and possessed by powerful people and painted by a studio led by prominent painters. They are not intended to completely reflect the realities of the time, but rather to represent a visual balance between an actual and an idealised image. Those people who commissioned the paintings were frequently portrayed in the work, not necessarily as their exact selves, yet always in a manner that represented their existence and power. The pictures also served to praise those authority figures.

Four of the early paintings depict the Muromachi period.[151] They are categorized as the early *rakuchū rakugai zu*, because there are no depictions of Nijō castle in Kyoto. Early *rakuchū rakugai zu* without the castle are commonly known as the 'first type', with later depictions of the castle categorised as the 'second type'.

Kojima presumes that from the date in the diary, in reference to the painting of Asakura on December 22nd, the artworks were shipped to where Asakura was placed. Logically, this must have been in order to celebrate the New Year in 1506. Asakura built his own mansion in an identical style to the palace of the Muromachi shogunate, indicating that Kyoto was the modern and stylish city of that time.[152] Until the 16th century, there were no images which included maps of Kyoto.[153]

[151]Kojima Michihiro, 2009. *Egakareta sengokuno Kyoto - rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu wo yomu.* p.1
[152]Ibid., p.4
[153]Ibid., p.5-6

The natural tendency of the people was to refer to the right-hand screen as the 'east screen' and the left-hand screen as the 'west screen'. This was done regardless of which way the screens were actually facing at the time.[154] To establish where east and west were divided, Kojima uses an article by Ishida Hisatoyo. Ishida states that the dividing line was from the temple Shōkoku-ji, but this tower burned down in 1470.

A shift in *rakuchū rakugai zu* focus point is *shiki'e*, or 'four season paintings', all four seasons were depicted across the set of screen paintings. Japan has long held the belief that its uniqueness as a country partially stems from having four distinct seasons of weather.[155] The early *rakuchū rakugai zu* focus on powerful authorities on the Muromachi shogunate and the Hosokawa clan. Over time, this type of painting became less popular as the politics of the era changed. Later works drew away from depicting authority, with more of a focus on famous places or the current fashions of the people which will be examined in the following chapters. The earliest example of this change in style is the "*Rekihaku Ōtsuhon*"[156] which is classified as the version number two.

The early *rakuchū rakugai zu* strongly follow the tradition of depicting seasons which derived from both *shiki'e* (paintings of seasons) and *tsukinami'e* (paintings of monthly events).[157] The seasons are portrayed as following – winter is north, autumn is west, summer is south and spring is east. Under this line of thinking, the positioning of the screens depends on the viewer's point of view. This typically refers to viewing the image from the south or north of Kyoto. If we put ourselves in the emperor's shoes, the seasonal direction is from left to right, starting with spring and ending with winter. If we view it from the other end – south – the geographical sense is still accurate, but the seasonal aspect feels almost incomprehensible because the seasonal order usually does not start from spring. Both of the viewpoints are legitimate, possible and reasonable, yet the timeline is disrupted to the point of causing a distraction. The placement of the screens (left or right) depends on the view-point. Ultimately the *useki* (right screen) would more accurately be described as the screen depicting the lower half of Kyoto, with the point of view of looking from north-west to south-east. Likewise, the *saseki* (left screen) depicting the upper half of Kyoto, has the point of view of looking from

[154]Ibid., p.7
[155]Ibid., p.15
[156]There are different names added to this version such as rekihaku ōtsuhon etc., but in this paper I'm going to use version B
[157]Mizumoto Kunihiko, 2002. *Ezu to keikan no kinsei*. Tokyo: Azekura Shobō

south-east to north-west. This is especially the case for early examples of *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens.[158]

The association of seasons with locations can be explained by applying the idea of *sishenxiangou*, or *shishin sōō* which is already explained previously, literally meaning 'four gods correspond' that came from Chinese Daoist theory.[159] In this theory each direction is associated with a particular season and set of colours. This ethos was considered to be an important aspect of the architecture in Japan, when building cities, which was well understood in the period when early *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens were made. Not only early *rakuchū rakugai zu*, but also sliding door paintings in Zen temples applied this theory when decorating a room. For example, Kanō Eitoku painted four seasonal flowers and birds at the Zen temple Jukō-in. When standing in the room and facing in the traditional religiously important direction, spring on the screens starts from the right and the rest of the seasons continue clockwise.[160] Looking at the paintings from the point of view of the emperor – with a logical seasonal continuation – feels more natural and aesthetically pleasing.

When Nobunaga entered Kyoto, he chose not to use the city as a home and base of operations. He sent orders not from Kyoto, but from Azuchi. *Rakuchū rakugai zu* has developed to indicate the relationship that each successive ruler and authority figure held with the city of Kyoto, and how the capital is seen from a popular perspective.[161] Nobunaga ordered Kanō Eitoku 狩野永徳 (1543-1590) to make a screen painting for the Vatican. It was initially displayed at the Vatican and is now missing. The Gestwitch record states that on one hand it depicts the new city, but on the other hand it illustrates Azuchi castle. This shows that Nobunaga also followed the early *rakuchū rakugai zu* composition which pictures the city on one hand and the political centre on the other.[162] There is only one screen in existence which shows Hideyoshi and his castle near Kyoto. It is called the *Jurakudai* screen and is possessed by the Mitsui Memorial Museum. This screen is also based on *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* and

[158]Fujiwara Shigeo, 2005. *Uesugi bon rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu no kisetsuhazure no keibutsu.* Report of grants in aid for scientific research
[159]Ozawa Hiromu, 2002. Toshizu no keifu to edo, p.31
[160]Ibid., p.41
[161]Kojima Michihiro, 2009. *Egakareta sengokuno Kyoto - rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu wo yomu.* p.163
[162]Ibid., p.164

it is possible that it was painted by Kanō Mitsunobu 狩野光信 (1565–1608), Eitoku's son.[163] The *Hizen Nagoya* screen (Hideyoshi) also portrays the castle town.[164]

The last category, in which authority and the castle was shown is called *Edozu byōbu*. In *Edozu byōbu* the castle and the city are completely united, and Edo castle is located in the centre of the screen. Kojima states that the third shogun Iemitsu appeared in the painting in several sections, because he needed to be shown for political purposes, as Edo castle and the town of Edo was not created by him. This appearance in the work is a clear display of power and influence.[165]

During the Edo period *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* continued to show a strong bias towards the politics of the time, but this gradually declined. Instead, the portrayal of famous places increased in popularity. The interest in famous places developed to create *meisho zue*, which compiled the most famous areas of a town into one image.[166]

McKelway focuses on a very recently discovered *rakuchū rakugai zu*, the first appearance of which was reported in 2010. It is estimated that the artwork was made in the first quarter of the 17th century. However, there is only one screen and it is not a set of screens as was traditional for the time. It is larger than a usual *rakuchū rakugai zu*, and much about the work is still unknown. Fushimi castle is depicted on the screen as well as the Daibutsu hall, both being symbols of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. With both shown at a large size in the work, it is estimated that these are the largest illustrations of buildings used in any example of *rakuchū rakugai zu*. The artwork could technically be categorized in the second type, however there are significant differences: there are eight panels instead of the traditional six, and the depiction of the Imperial Palace is unusually small. Famous places from the Meisho period were also shown, such as Kiyomizu-dera 清水寺. Compared to other *rakuchū rakugai zu* from around the same time period, this particular example of *rakuchū rakugai zu* contains slightly fewer famous places. The Gion festival is also painted on this screen, with fewer Yamahoko floats. The portable shrine was depicted near to the Kamo River, which is very rare as it is usually shown in front of the Nijō castle. There are no images of structures which were still under

[163] Ibid., p.166
[164] Ibid., p.167
[165] Ibid., p.168
[166] Ibid., p.170

construction, indicating the idealised image of the city. In addition, Odoi was depicted alongside Tō-ji and Hongan-ji temple, suggesting a strong link between the artwork and the Toyotomi family.[167]

McKelway believes that the missing set of screens depicts Osaka and the castle of Osaka. An existing set of folding screens depicting both Kyoto and Osaka, which is now owned by the Osaka history museum, is likely to have been a copy of the missing original.[168] This screen illustrates the glory of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, which is easy to assume, given the relationship between the Kanō school and related parties. McKelway also explains the link between this particular screen and another set of screens depicting Osaka. This screen painting was made by a Kanō school painter.

Painters from different schools did occasionally copy each other's styles. As an example, the *rakuchū rakugai zu* possessed by Osaka City Museum, which was previously owned by Manoa Art Gallery, shows that different painters copied the same composition. There is no explanation as to why the image looks identical to those made in the early 17th century, so the true purpose of why this painting was made requires further research.[169] It portrays the glorious days of Hideyoshi, yet has the appearance of works made in the 17th century, which is when the Tokugawa family obtained power. This in itself was a very risky thing to do, if it was genuinely made in the 17th century, as the rulers of the time were not renowned for their mercy. If the Tokugawa family was made aware of such a work being created, whoever commissioned and painted it would be in a very risky position. Religious institutions were depicted in these paintings and their significance in these works is examined further.

The ways in which Kiyomizu-dera and the Buddha were depicted in artworks has a religious significance. They demonstrate the significance of the areas, as the structures and landmarks defined what both Kyoto and Edo meant to the people. The way in which both landmarks were shown gives us an understanding of how people viewed their cities and what the spaces meant to them.

[167]Matthew Philip McKelway (2014) 'A New Discovery of an Eight-Panel Rakuchū Rakugai zu Screen' In Shūbi volume 11. Tokyo: Shūbisha, p.40-51
[168]Ibid., p.48
[169]Ibid.

As McKelway says in his book,[170] the gold clouds in Kyoto screens function in two major ways. Firstly, they have a pictorial function, as abstract depictions of actual clouds or mist, and secondly, they have a conceptual function, as a system for modulating the depiction of space and time.[171] This use of gold developed from a painting technique, *suyari gasumi*, which is unique to the *yamato'e* tradition. The technique is applied to divide multiple different scenes in one painting or hand scroll painting, so that it creates a natural flow between scenes. This creates a similar effect in *rakuchū rakugai zu*, which makes the viewer feel a sense of distance and creates a sense of curiosity as to what lies hidden behind the clouds. In some cases, especially in the case of *edozu*, the golden clouds were used to hide strategically important locations, in order to prevent strategic information being leaked to the public and rival factions. Family crests can often be seen stamped onto the gold to indicate who commissioned the painting. The *rakuchū rakugai zu* screen paintings were usually commissioned and possessed by someone who was to be considered a powerful authority at the time. They were mainly painted by the Kanō school's studio artists.

The Kanō school emerged in the 15th century during the mid-Muromachi period. Kanō Masanobu 狩野正信 (1434-1530) was the founder of the school, and he served as an officially appointed painter for the Muromachi shogunate. The school's painting style was closely linked to the Chinese painting style. This was in contrast to another Muromachi periods official painter Tosa Mitsunobu, as his Tosa school created paintings which are now called *yamato'e* style paintings that are not based on Chinese painting techniques.

Receiving commissions from the Muromachi shogunate greatly increased the status of the painter and its studio. Obviously, this is because their artworks were displayed in the most powerful institutions, but other than that, the people and institutions who served for the Muromachi shogunate also started commissioning these painters works, in this way their either institutions or residence can be raised to the similar standard to that of the ruler of the time.

When the Muromachi shogunate declined in influence, the Kanō school maintained its popularity. Those who still possessed a considerable amount of power commissioned the school to create new artworks and decorate their property.

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[170] Matthew Philip Mckelway (2006) *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval: Kyoto*, p.20
[171] Ibid.

Kanō Eitoku was the grandson of the founder, and he became particularly successful winning favour with authority figures including both Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. His painting style was dynamic and used a lot of gold, which made the paintings have a powerful impact. It is claimed that this is a style that the Tosa school simply could not have introduced, due to fundamental differences in their approach to art. The Kanō school remained in favour, and was endorsed by the succeeding Tokugawa shogunate. In some ways, it was unusual that in the face of changing authority, an official painting school favoured by previous rulers did not decline in popularity. Even so, the move was understandable in terms of inheriting the culture of Kyoto from the previous shogunate. By using the finest school of the time, the ruling Tokugawa shogunate intended to rule their domain culturally as well as politically. With the appearance of other talented painters such as Eitoku's son Mitsunobu and his brother Takanobu 狩野孝信 (1571-1618), then the great Kanō Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602-1674) who established the Edo Kanō school, the Kanō school in Kyoto (together with the Tokugawa shogunate) was dominant until the end of the Edo period.

One of the strongest reasons for someone wanting to obtain these types of paintings is thought to be their need or desire for a confirmation of their power, which is why the artworks were mainly possessed by militarily and financially powerful people. They were also commonly used as gifts, to glorify and praise the recipient. In both of these ways, the ultimate meaning of the artwork was a reassurance of the owner's power and status. A significant number of *rakuchū rakugai zu* were given as gifts from one feudal domain to another in regional and country-wide politics. Prior to the 17th century, there was no supreme ruler of Japan who could carry out his own wishes completely independent of another authority. Each clan was considered to be an individual power and have 'state-like' characteristics. Earning the respect, favour and alliance of other feudal domains was important in gaining political status and power.

While Tsukamoto Akihiro says that the first-generation *rakuchū rakugai zu* were fairly geographically accurate, he adds that "works from the 17th century onward adopted extremely distorted configurations, even as they expanded the range of the drawn area." This remark seems reasonable since many of the locations which are depicted in these types of screens are not necessarily located in geographically accurate places. Second-generation and variant type screens from this period include exaggerated close-up views of important structures, selective

inclusion or omission of districts, and forced inclusion of distant landmarks.[172] If we imagine that the viewing points are two people, then in the case of first-generation *rakuchū rakugai zu* they would be facing each other, but in the case of second form, they would be back to back. In addition to Tsukamoto's analysis, Mizumoto[173] also mentions the perspective that starts from south and stretches to north. This is the only common perspective in the variant-type *rakuchū rakugai zu*.[174]

As McKelway says, there is no documentation in any medium, written or painted that has survived till this day to explain how *rakuchū rakugai zu* were arranged for viewing.[175] How *rakuchū rakugai zu* were to be appreciated was explored nevertheless by Ozawa Hiromu. In museum and galleries today, viewers of the *rakuchū rakugai zu* would normally either stand or sit in front of the set of screens. These screens are sometimes displayed not partially folded, but completely flat. In case where they are folded, the folds are typically vertical and evenly spaced out across the screens. However, these screens must have been folded in various ways to maximize the visual effect of each particular painting when they were created. Ozawa suggested that these screen paintings were placed facing each other, and that the early *rakuchū rakugai zu* positioning of seasons and perspective was meant to be appreciated as if looking down at the city of Kyoto in reality. [176] He notes that architectural historian Nishi Kazuo denies the existence of a historic record indicating this particular way to view the screen paintings, but Ozawa still believed that this inward-facing approach must have been how these screen paintings were appreciated.[177]

When considering the purpose of the screens, as well as their size and the sequence of the seasons, Ozawa's theory becomes much more plausible. It would seem more natural if these screen paintings were placed opposite each other, but one edge is almost touching the other screens edge, forming a triangle shape with the viewer at the centre. If the viewer looks at these

[172]Tsukamoto Akihiro, 2009. 'Unfolding the landscape drawing method of rakuchū rakugai zu screen paintings in a GIS environment' In *International Journal of Humanities and Arts COMPUTING 3 (1–2).* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press and the Association for History and Computing, p.56
[173]Mizumoto Kunihiko, 1998. 'Rakuchū rakugai zu no naka no Kyoto' In *Atarashii rekishigaku no tameni, 229*, Kyoto: Kyoto Minka Rekishi Bukai, p.1–25
[174]Mizumoto Kunihiko, 2002. *Ezu to keikan no kinsei*, p.278
[175]Matthew Philip McKelway (2006) *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval: Kyoto*
[176]Ozawa Hiromu, 2002. Toshizu no keifu to edo
[177]Ibid., p.57-60

screens lit by a flickering candle light, it creates an effect of almost a three-dimensional or real scene.

1.3.2 Edozu byōbu

This significant political symbolism in paintings of Kyoto continued over the centuries and, when Edo was created, people started to make paintings of Edo.

Fig. 4: *Edozu byōbu* Right Screen (after 1631 and before 1634)

Fig. 5: *Edozu byōbu* Left Screen (after 1631 and before 1634)

The painting (Fig. 4 and 5) here, is known as *Edozu byōbu*, which literally means 'a screen painting of Edo'. *Edozu byōbu* is a set of folding screen paintings that depicts the city

of Edo at a time when it was still under construction.[178] As the title of the painting suggests, this is considered to be the most prominent surviving work of art which depicts early stages of Edo city development.

There is a discussion among scholars about when exactly the painting was made. Mizufuji[179] concludes it was made between 1622 and 1632, Kuroda[180] says between 1632 and 1633 while Matsushima[181] states it was made before 1632. It can ultimately be concluded that the painting cannot have been made earlier than 1631, because of its depiction of the Daibutsu in Kan'ei-ji.

According to Nagashima Masaharu, the date of creation of *Edozu byōbu* can be more closely determined by radiocarbon dating. He examined the paper of the *Edozu byōbu* and concluded that this was made between 1470 and 1640.[182] Even so, there are other scholars who disagree with both the time shown in the depiction of the scenes of Edo and the time of making the painting itself. For example, Suwa Haruo[183] states that because the name of *Tōshō Daigongen* appeared in *Edozu byōbu* and this name was officially used from 1646, the work must therefore be from the year 1646. Yamabe Tomoyuki,[184] through examining the fashion of the people's clothes, concludes that it depicts a scene sometime between 1644 and 1652.

In this thesis, I will argue that various pieces of evidence indicate that the entire painting has been made through a consecutive process, without later additions or newer paint applied to this *Edozu byōbu*. This painting therefore must depict a scene from the intercalary 10th month of 1631, since that was the time when Daibutsu was completed at the site of Kan'ei-ji. Also the absence of religious sites which were supposed to be depicted in *Edozu byōbu*, which were built after certain times, indicates the high likelihood of the painting being made

[178]Ozawa Hiromu and Marujama Nobuhiko (ed.) 1993. *Zusetsu edozu byōbu wo yomu*. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō
[179]Mizufuji Makoto, 1991. 'Edozu byōbu seisaku no shūhen' In *Kokuritsu rekishi minzokugaku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkokuvol.31.* Tokyo: Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan
[180]Kuroda Hiedo, 1993. *Ō no shintai ō no shōzō.*Tokyo: Heibonsha, p.56-107.
[181]Matsushima Jin, 2011. *Tokugawa shōgun kenryoku to kanōha kaiga.* Tokyo: Brucke, p.38
[182]Nagashima Masaharu, 2003. 'Tanso 14 nendai sokuteihō ni yoru seisaku nendai no kakutei' In Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan (ed.) *Rekishi wo saguru sai en su*. Sakura: Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan, p.52
[183] Suwa Haruo, Naito Akira and Miya Mutsuo (ed.) 1972. *Edozu byōbu*. Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha
[184]Yamabe Tomoyuki, 1996. 'Edozu byōbu no fukushoku' cited by Hatano Jun 'Ichiren no edozu byōbu wo sozai toshta edo no sumai to toshi kūkan no fukūgenteki kenkyū 1' In *Jūtaku sōgō kenkyū zaidan kenkyū nempō nr.22*. Tokyo: Jūtaku sōgō kenkyū zaidan, p.11

before the time these religious sites were built. Those religious sites include the temple complex of Shiba Myōjin which was completed in 1634, and also the absence of Sanjūsangen-dō at Sensō-ji which was completed in 1642. Both of these points indicate that this pair of screens most likely depicts Edo after 1631 and before 1634.

Certainly, there is a chance that the image of the Daibutsu could have been added after the completion of the original *Edozu byōbu*. However, it does not look like a later addition and it fits in with the composition harmoniously. These estimated years of creation of the painting all fall during the reign of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu.

Like the *Uesugi* folding screens painting which will be further examined in Chapter 2.4, the *Edozu byōbu* has many political aspects. Firstly, the painting inherits the medium of large folding screens with expensive Japanese powdered mineral pigments and gold leaves. This implies that the patron of the painting must have been wealthy and have had a decent amount of space in which to display the object. *Edozu byōbu* is said to have been made by, one of the attendants to Iemitsu.[185] Matsushima states that there is a possibility that the work was made for a household related to the Imperial family.[186] This is an interesting consideration when we think of the issue of patronage. If the work was made for a non-Tokugawa family, the purpose and meaning of the painting is completely different: there is a vast difference between praising your own importance and forcing other people to do so. If this was made for the people in Kyoto as Matsushima suggests, it may have been created with the aim of surpassing Kyoto in terms of cultural superiority.

The compositional characteristics are also similar. Like Kyoto folding screens, they use a reversed perspective in which further-away features cover a greater physical area than nearby features. The upper section of the image has mountains, and each screen has a main subject such as a castle or religious building. They also share the way they depict people: the most important and powerful personages are clearly defined. The area of the painting that looks like golden clouds is called *kin'un* or *genji gumo*, meaning exactly 'Golden Cloud' or 'Cloud of Genji'. The latter name comes from a scroll painting of "*The Tale of Genji*" which regularly uses this type of cloud as a partition. It is made with glued gold dust, and is a common feature

[185]Kuroda Hiedo, 1993. *Ō no shintai ō no shōzō*
[186]Matsushima Jin, 2011. *Tokugawa shōgun kenryoku to kanōha kaiga*, p.45

of paintings of the time, especially for officially commissioned paintings and paintings for wealthy townsmen. This *kin'un* developed from a similar expression of what is called *suyari gasumi*, meaning a 'drawn-spear mist', or *yari gasumi*, a 'spear mist'. The *suyari gasumi*, when depicted in a painting, serves the function of allowing the image to have multiple timelines and depict different locations. Introducing Takeda Tsuneo's argument, Washizaki Kimihiko states that this golden cloud has aspect function of creating divisions in paintings. They not only fill empty spaces but also act as a decoration.[187] Both Washizaki and Takeda do not discuss this, but it is worth mentioning that the golden cloud also functions to hide unwelcome objects that are not suitable or acceptable when depicting or expressing the idealised world. When talking about hiding the objects that include the housing structure and any other military structures, which if exposed, could be used for the benefit of the opposition side. For example, in the case of *Edozu byōbu* some sections of the Edo castle are not depicted and other samurai houses are only partially expressed. It also hides places where untouchables lived or expressed how they lived due to the characteristics of the painting supposedly depicting an idealised city and of course depicting those people under the hard conditions does not fit the purpose of the painting. However, when popular places were depicted the cloud often functioned as to segregate these areas from the sacred places as the thesis will examine later on.

In the middle ages, the Edo clan served as a *gokenin*, a vassal to the Kamakura shogunate. Edo was ruled by Ōta Dōkan 太田道灌 (1432-1486) in the mid 15th century, and in 1524 Edo became part of the Hōjō territory. In 1590, when Tokugawa Ieyasu entered the Kantō region, the construction of Edo began, as focused on in this thesis. Other names that were often used to indicate Edo included Tōto, Kōto, Kōfu, and Bukō, which were used after the Edo period. The Chinese characters making up Tōto literally mean 'east capital' while those of Bukō are a combination of characters of 'military' and 'river'. They indicate a clear understanding by the people of the Edo period that they lived in the eastern capital of Japan, a capital by the sea, with strong government and military presences.[188] According to Takeuchi Makoto, the phrase "the great Edo" appeared first in the latter half of the 18th century. He states that, by this time, Edo was a complete, large-scale city that was beginning to develop its own culture. Takeuchi continues that within the shogunate there were different definitions of what constituted the inside and outside of Edo. This caused some confusion, and the situation itself

[187]Washizaki Kimihiko, 2014. *Ōgonron – konpeki shōhekiga no tenkai*. Kyoto: Kyoto Zōkei Geijutsu Daigaku. p.20-21
[188]Aoki, S. 1990. *Ōta Dōkan*. Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha

occurred due to different departments of the shogunate controlling different buildings and landmarks in Edo. For example, the town was governed by *Machi Bugyō* (the Town Magistrates office), religious sites were controlled by the Temple and Shrine Magistrates office, and the samurai residence was governed by the Samurai Inspectors office. Therefore, they could not create a unified governing system to control the entire city of Edo. This situation continued until 1818 when the shogunate finally made an official announcement regarding the boundaries of Edo territory.[189]

Edozu byōbu is evidently positioned to praise the prosperity of both Tokugawa Iemitsu himself and the city Edo which enjoyed his rule. This can be easily understood because Iemitsu has been portrayed in several locations in Edo screens where he is covered by a red umbrella with the Tokugawa family's crests. This way of portraying a noble person under the umbrella already existed at the time of *rakuchū rakugai zu* and this symbolism also applied when Hideyoshi was portrayed in *Daigo hanami zu*.

[189]Takeuchi Makoto (ed.) 2006. *Tokyo no chimei yurai jiten*

Fig. 6: *Daigo Hanami Zu* (after spring 1598 and the beginning of 17th century) close-up of Hideyoshi

The painting's purpose as a method of praising the power of the Tokugawa shogunate is also confirmed by other cues and symbols in the artwork. These include the dignified way in which Edo castle is portrayed on an enormous scale, and the depiction of other religious sites that this thesis examines. Later on, this image will be used in all chapters and to further discuss this theory of how religious institutions were used for political purposes. Throughout examining the case studies of some of the sacred spaces including the aspect of landscape and famous buildings, as well as monumental architecture, the thesis will aim to reveal the Tokugawa shogunate's extensive exercise of political use of these sacred spaces in Edo.

1.3.3 Edo Meisho Zu byōbu

Naito Masato compares both *edo zu* and *edo meisho zu*, and states that early *edo zu* can be categorized into two types. The first is *edo meisho zu*, which is the same type of artwork as

rakuchū rakugai zu, and the other type is *edo zu*, which is the expanded version of maps. The former one is closer to picture form and the latter is more closely associated with maps. These two types of *edo zu* used to be considered as one category. Certainly, both paintings have their own significant importance in terms of history, however *edo zu* lack the attractiveness of picture-based images.

From an art history perspective, the amount of research and discussion available on *edo zu* is also much smaller. In contrast, *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu* contains much interest as a painting.[190] This is due to the nature of the *meisho zu* type screen paintings which focuses on depicting people's lives rather than portraying political or the religious subjects. This type of genre paintings is called *fūzoku'e* which can be classified as a genre painting which must not be understood exactly the same as the Western genre paintings, although *meisho zu* and *rakuchū zu* style paintings are made to represent the people having fun at well known sites.

Naito's work advises that determining exactly when *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu* was made is tricky. Even so, the buildings that are depicted in these works clearly indicate that the painting was made during the Kanji period.[191] Naito says that, because *Edozu byōbu* was intended to praise the legacy of the third shogun Iemitsu, the painting includes areas which are not Edo in the strictest sense. These include regions such as Meguro, Shinagawa, Itabashi and Kawagoe. With this in mind, technically this painting should be classified as *edo gofunai gofugai zu*. *Gofunai* means "inside of Edo", and *gofugai* means "outside of Edo". Therefore, it is possible to suggest that *Edozu byōbu* could be defined as *rakuchū rakugai zu* are, with the location changed to Edo. He says that, given the height of the screens, these screens are noticeably shorter than typical folding screen paintings. However, as the screens are wider in comparison, this creates an emphasis on the horizontal development of the picture, much as with hand scroll paintings. Naito describes the screen as an Edo folding screen version of the famous hand scroll painting of Tohizukan that defines the Kyoto genre of painting.[192] Naito comments that the painting "was meant to precisely represent how ordinary Edo people understood their own city".[193] Since there are no signs or seals left on this image, much the same as with *Edozu byōbu,* one must speculate who the painter was and which studio they

[190]Naito Masato, 2003. *Ōedo gekijō no makuga hiraku edo meisho zu byōbu*. Tokyo: Shogakukan, p.121
[191]Ibid., p.122
[192]Ibid., p.123
[193]Ibid., p.124

belong to through analysing the style of the painting. According to Naito Masato,[194] the painter is related to Iwasa Matabei 岩佐又兵衛 (1578-1650). He continues, asserting that the fact that the Fukui Matsudaira clan's residence is painted clearly on the screen and no other daimyo houses are portrayed is strong evidence to back his hypothesis, because I was a Matabei served this clan. *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu* is an unusual eight-panel pair of screens, which creates emphasis on the horizontal flow, rather than vertical, to the viewer of the screen. It also portrays the festival of Sensō-ji and its procession as one of the main subject matters, which is depicted on the first four panels of the right screen. The official nuance of the screen is rather small. This is seen in the partial, rather than complete, depiction of Edo Castle. When comparing Kan'ei-ji to Sensō-ji, this becomes even more apparent.

1.3.4 Other images

A category of paintings called *meishozu* was also produced to depict cities. According to Miyajima Shinichi, the early modern genre paintings are very different from middle age genre paintings. He also claims that these paintings which depict *meisho* or *nadokoro* has its origin in the medieval times and this should not be considered as the product of the early modern period, this is why *rakuchū rakugai zu* are the screens that seem to be the closest to middle age paintings of *meisho* or *nadokoro*. *Rakuchū rakugai zu* is almost the entire compiled amount of works completed in this tradition of genre paintings.[195] *Meishozu* falls within the category of genre painting, in particular depicting *nadokoro and meisho* – 'place with names', meaning famous places of the time. These *meishozu* were produced in various formats such as paper scrolls, folding screen paintings, hand scroll paintings, paper sliding doors etc.

Reflecting the themes and feelings of the era, these *meisho zu* paintings were mostly made in Kyoto and depicted famous places around the city. It was also convenient for the artists that there were many *nadokoro*, *meisho* and other places to be portrayed in one of the most densely-populated cities in Japan at that time, which will be discussed further in the following chapters. However, in the case of Edo the situation was different to that of Kyoto. When Edo was established in the beginning of the 17th century, Edo did not have many *nadokoro* and *meisho*, as it was just starting to become an independent city under the

[194] Naito Masato, 2003. *Edo meisho zu byōbu – ōedo gekijō no maku ga hiraku*. Tokyo: Shōgakuan, p.124-125
[195] 2004. *Nihon no bijutsu, fūzokuga no kinsei*. Tokyo: Shibundō p.20

Tokugawa's control. A screen called *Edo Meisho Yūrakuzu byōbu* is one of the earliest examples of *meisho zu* category images created at Edo.[196]

Fig. 7: *Edo Meisho Yūraku Zu byōbu* (around 1624-1644)

This image was quite possibly painted during the same period as *Edozu byōbu.* It is easy to speculate this because the painting portrays Sensō-ji. The Sumida River is also depicted, as well as the main hall and other religious buildings of Sensō-ji. These important religious sites are shown together with many people entertained in various ways, such as listening to music, watching theatre performances and visiting the religious site of Sensō-ji.

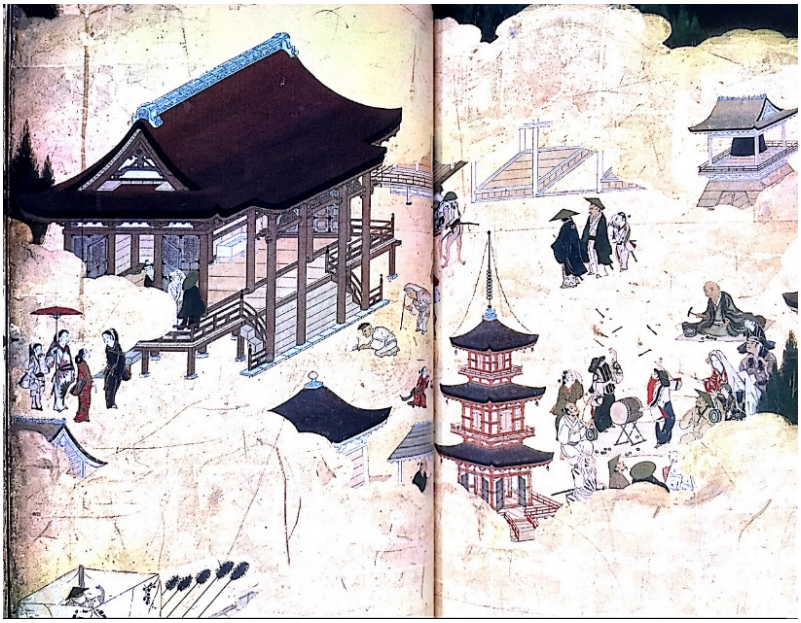

Fig. 8: *Edo Meisho Yūraku Zu byōbu* (around 1624-1644) close-up of Sensō-ji

[196]It now only has one screen but it is possible to think there could be another screen

The composition of Sensō-ji seems to resonate with the artistic representation of Gion shrine in the Yasaka area of Kyoto.[197]

When looking at depictions of sacret religious sites, we also need to discuss a category of paintings called *shaji sankei zu*. These are also known as *shaji sankei mandara, jisha sankei mandara* and *sankei mandara*. These were paintings that showed specific religious sites in order to encourage religious followers to raise donations. This type of painting has developed from four previous categories of paintings:

1) *Suijaku mandara*, which depict the syncretism of Shinto and Buddhism;
2) *Jishaengi zu*, which tells a story of how one religious place was established;
3) Picture maps of temples and shrines, which is very similar to *shiro ezu* or other *ezu*;
4) Early modern genre paintings.[198][199]

Tokuda Kaseo[200] points out four specific characteristics of this category, which are:

1) The works are under the clear influence of early period *mandaras* including *suijaku mandara*;
2) They are intended to use during worship and prayer;
3) The works depict a specific sacred place from a birds-eye perspective;
4) The works indicate a route that worshipers go around, such as on pilgrimages, and they show actual figures of these religious followers.

Tokuda also points out that these were mostly painted on paper and in a large form of hand scrolls. These were made for gathering donations which were basically conducted by monks and Shinto priests, but were actually preached by *bikuni*. Like *kanjin* monks, *bikuni* gathered donations through explaining what was depicted in the *sankei mandara* paintings.

[197]Although this screen is the earliest surviving example to portray Edo, since this has no direct link to the replicated sacred site in Edo this thesis will not closely examine this screen.
[198]Fukuhara Toshio, 1987. *Shaji sankei mandara*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, p.214
[199]Shimosaka Mamoru, 2003. *Egakareta nippon no chūsei kaiga bunsekiron*. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, p. 420-437
[200]Tokuda Kaseo, 1990. *Egatarito Monogatari.* Tokyo: Heibonsha, p.24-25

When looking at *Shaji sankei zu* they often depict or describe the sun and the moon together in a single image. This has a religious significance and shows eternity and timelessness. In addition, Nishiyama Masaru says[201] that the picture shows the characteristics of self-containment of a religious space – in other words, a micro universe.[202]

These images did not describe a site's features as accurately as *rakuchū rakugai zu*. For example, in the Kiyomizu-dera *sankei mandara*, the bridge Gojō Bashi is depicted in an idealised form with red coloured handrails and ornamental caps. This pictorial exaggeration also indicates the political motivation of those who commissioned and owned this type of painting. It is crucial to note here that these exaggerations seem to be a natural outcome considering the fact that these amplifications were intentionally made in order to glorify the state of the subject matter, thus the legacy of patrons. Again, in the case of Kiyomizu-dera *sankei mandara*, both Kiyomizu-dera and its Shinto side temple Jōjuin looked after Gojō Bashi bridge. Therefore, the religious institutions wanted to ensure that their bridge was shown in a more elaborate way.[203]

Iwahana Michiaki[204] writes that people in different social classes are depicted in the vast majority of *sankei mandara*, but these social ranks were depicted in different places. While monks inhabit the space around the main religious building, noblemen are shown between that main building and the fence.[205] In between sacred space and non-sacred space were the untouchables and lepers. This shows the importance of social class and indicates where different types of people were placed in paintings of the time. This shows some similarity to *rakuchū rakugai zu*, in which sacred spaces are often depicted on the upper half of the screen and the lower half describes the life of the ordinary people.

Ōtaka Yasumura[206] says that the main worshipped figures, such as the statue of Buddha or a Shinto god are not depicted in these paintings. According to Nishiyama Masaru,[207] these *sankei mandara* images were made mostly by people who did not necessarily have a great

[201]Nishiyama Masaru, 1990. *Shaji sankei mandara ni tsuiteno oboe gaki III nr. 1*. Nara: Fujiiderashi p.61
[202]Ibid., p.70
[203]Shimosaka Mamoru, 2003. *Egakareta nippon no chūsei kaiga bunsekiron*, p.191
[204]Iwahana Michiaki, 1986. 'Saigoku reijō no sankei mandara ni miru kūkan hyōgen' In *Jinbun chirigaku no shiken.* Tokyo: Daimeidō, p.127-131
[205]Ibid., p.136
[206]Otaka Yasumura, 2012. *Sankei mandara no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin. p.34-35
[207]Nishiyama Masaru, 1988. *Seichi no imegi-nachi sankei mandara wo tekusuto nishite*

knowledge of these religious figures, so they could not create a painting which represented any of them accurately. This statement by Nishiyama is odd because, in the understanding created in this thesis so far, the works were created, accepted, recommended and spread by temples and shrines themselves. This would imply a strong knowledge of worshipped figures and religious icons. However, this way of not portraying the most central to its faith and ritual activities is a useful insight when trying to understand other visual mediums, such as both *rakuchū rakugai zu* and *edo zu*, in which the most highly ranked people are not directly or openly depicted. In other words, knowing that both *sankei mandara* and screen paintings that expressed Kyoto or Edo, likely suggests the possibility of a widespread understanding that the most sacred and powerful figures were not depicted in a visual form by the time they were created.

1.4 Conclusion

As this chapter examines different aspects relating to the significance of copying religious architecture in the mid-16th to the mid-17th century Japan, it demonstrates the rather complicated relationship between different existing aspects.

Firstly, the understanding of copying of the time frame that this thesis focuses on is not necessarily understood the same as it might be considered in contemporary artform. It is also noted that not many researches have been made using this specific aspect of copying an original in order to strengthen an authorities rule, when focusing on both Kyoto and Edo in and around the early 17th century.

Secondly the thesis examines the meaning and significance behind religion and how it is strongly related to authorities of the time. Both the Toyotomi and Tokugawa clan used religion in various ways in order to legitimise their rule. Both also understood that religion played a crucial part in managing and securing their own strength within the country of Japan.

In order to understand how this relationship was working this chapter introduced and examined historical documents, which further show the significance of strategic manoeuvres that both the Toyotomi and Tokugawa clan made.

Finally, through analysing the historical development of paintings which are introduced in this chapter and also further in the thesis, it shows how these political paintings that depict both Kyoto and Edo are portrayed and received by the audience. And also the significance behind the different types of paintings has been examined as well.

The above information exposes issues that need to be considered in order to understand the foundation behind the significance of copying religious architecture around the 17th century. Looking at and analysing all of the aspects mentioned in this Chapter it is clearly beneficial to understand the main theory of the thesis in a clearer way.

CHAPTER 2: MOUNTAIN LANDSCAPE

2.1 Introduction

Sacred mountains were copied from Kyoto into Edo in the early 17th century. It sounds unnatural, even impossible to do such things because Edo (geotropically speaking) is relatively flat as a plain. However, the Tokugawa shogunate created religious sites which not only have a close link to the name they intended to copy, but also invited the same deity into their own sacred sites. In order to understand how the Tokugawa shogunate made this possible, the thesis will examine the concept of *genius loci*, which is the idea of a particular place gaining unique characteristics in the minds of the general public through time, in which it explains why particular locations mattered to the authorities of the time. It will then go on to discuss the miniaturisation of nature that the Japanese practised throughout the centuries, including around the time this replication of the sacred sites was practised and likely affected the building of smaller sized religious architectural copies in Edo. Later, it will examine how the process of dividing deities, in order to move the same deity, was possible, and how this was widely practiced in Japan at the time. Therefore, the Tokugawa shogunate applied the same method when copying the original religious site from Kyoto. After discussing both social practice and the concepts shared by people of the time, the thesis will focus on three copied Mountain landscapes: Mt. Hiei, Hiyoshi Taisha and Mt. Atago. All of them are located on the edge of what was then the territory of Kyoto, and all of them are considered sacred sites. These sites were perceived by the Tokugawa shogunate to be seen as potential subjects of copy, mainly because of the political significance that they withhold from Kyoto in the eyes of the Tokugawa shogunate. They were then replicated as: Tōeizan Kan'ei-ji, Hiyoshi Sannō and Mt. Atago. The background of this 'copying' process will be analysed for each original and copied sites in three sections. The sections will also compare and examine how these places were represented in visual media and examine whether these places in Edo are copies of Kyoto sites.

2.2 Social Practice and Philosophy

2.2.1 Genius Loci

The meaning of *genius loci* was explained by Christian Norberg-Schulz. The meaning behind the term *genius loci* has changed over time. In the 18th century it was exclusively

applied to the appreciation of rural and garden landscapes,[208] and over time it developed into the appreciation of any landscape or place, both rural and urban. This concept, although its strict definition is widely debated, is useful in understanding how people attributed meanings to specific locations and acted in relation to those locations to which they attached meaning.

This appreciation is not strictly speaking technical, but seen more from a mental perspective. This is how the meaning behind 'copy' is portrayed in this thesis. John Brinckerhoff Jackson explains this theory:

> "In classical times it means not so much the place itself as the guardian divinity of that place. … in the eighteenth century the Latin phrase was usually translated as 'the genius of a place', meaning its influence. … We now use the current version to describe the *atmosphere* to a place, the quality of its *environment*."[209]

Gunila Jive and Peter Larkham[210] say that the understanding of a 'sense of space' is introduced to not only explore the 'authenticity' of common heritage areas, but also to define urban landscapes.[211] As this theory has garnered more interest it has drawn different opinions from different scholars.[212]

Under these lines of thought, the concept of *genius loci* is closely related with 'character', which signifies that the emotional state of a space which has travelled through history has an undeniable relationship with the idea of *genius loci*.

Genius loci is analysed and explored in detail by Christian Norberg-Schulz, an architect and phenomenologist, in several of his works.[213] In one of his final works, *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, *genius loci* is described as "representing the sense

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[208] John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (eds.) 1988. *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620–1820.* Cambridge: MA, MIT Press

[209] John Brinckerhoff Jackson, 1994. *A Sense of Place, a Sense of Time*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

[210] Gunila Jive´ N and Peter J. Larkham, 2003. 'Sense of Place, Authenticity and Character: A Commentary' In *Journal of Urban Design, Vol. 8, Nr. 1*. London: Routledge, p.67–81

[211] Assi Eman, 2000. 'Searching for the concept of authenticity: implementation guidelines' In *Journal of Architectural Conservation, 6(2).*Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing Ltd,p.60–69

[212] The concept of space has been theorised about by Edward Relph, 1976 *Place and Placelessness.* London: Pion and Mahyar Arefi, 1999. 'Non-place and placelessness as narratives of loss: rethinking the notion of place' In *Journal of Urban Design, 4(2).*London: Routledge,p.179–193

[213] Three of Schulz works presented: Norberg-Schulz, C., 1963. *Intentions in Architecture.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, Norberg-Schulz, C., 1980. *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli and Norberg-Schulz, C., 1985. *The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture*. New York: Electa/Rizzoli

people have of a place, understood as the sum of all physical as well as symbolic values in nature and the human environment."[214] Within this description he identifies four core aspects, which are:

1) The topography of the earth's surface;
2) The cosmological light conditions and the sky as natural conditions;
3) Buildings;
4) Symbolic and existential meanings in the cultural landscape.[215]

All of this means that a place cannot be imagined without thinking about its geographical location. This includes the surface area around it and the sun's position in relation to it, as well as the building itself and the history that it carries. Norberg-Schulz also points out four methodological stages in this conceptualisation: 'space', 'character', 'image' and 'genius loci'. He states that "many authors hold different, sometimes conflicting, views about its nature and meaning."[216]

Some other researchers have different ideas regarding *genius loci.* For example, Conzen[217] believed that a cyclic phase is applied when considering changes made to urban form. This attitude focuses on the belief that design and architecture will always eventually come full circle. Norberg-Schulz views this type of development more in the form that Heidegger viewed history, seeing this type of change as a rather linear development.[218]

Suzuki Hiroyuki introduces the idea of *genius loci* from a Japanese perspective and states that it exists in Japan, especially in Tokyo and such large cities. He is a clear supporter of the idea of *genius loci* and applied it to the city in order to better understand Tokyo.[219]

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[214] Gunila Jive´ N and Peter J. Larkham, 2003. 'Sense of Place, Authenticity and Character: A Commentary', p.70
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid., p.71
[217] Conzen, M. 1975. Geography and Townscape Conservation. In Uhlig, H. and Lienau, C., eds., 1973. Anglo-German Symposium in Applied Geography, Giessen–Würzburg–München. In *Giessener Geographische Schriften (Special Issue)*, Giessen: Selbstverl des Geographischen Instituts der Justus Liebig-Universität, pp. 95–102
[218] Gunila Jive´ N and Peter J. Larkham, 2003. 'Sense of Place, Authenticity and Character: A Commentary', p.72-73
[219] Suzuki Hiroyuki, 2009. 'Kindai kenchikuron kōgi 9 kinshitsu kūkan iron' In *UP vol.38 nr.9.* Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, p.29-35

Jivéand Larkham questions the quality of authenticity because, when people build something, the meaning of that building matters to them. They do this by examining how far one can consider the use of original material in conservation projects, as well as where to draw a line between fake and copied.

When they mention in their article that "to be authentic does not give a value per se; rather it should be understood as the condition of an object or a monument in relation to its specific qualities"[220], they are also quoting Lowenthal's indication of the act of faking. The original quote is as follows: "many fabrications are essentially mental rather than material; the fake inscription or manuscript is simply an adjunct to an intended historical deception. Yet their supposed veracity, sanctitude and uniqueness make fraudulent physical objects seem essentially repugnant."[221] These two ideas indicating that the act of copying itself relates to the person who committed this act and his or her understanding of the past are essential. One then has to question what makes the difference between 'fake' and 'copy', while treating the past with a respectful attitude.

Jivéand Larkham points out that in the Italian Renaissance period and the period of the Grand Tour, making copies was not always considered as making fakes and therefore was not always considered as a negative act. However, they emphasise that "deception, when it occurred, was a later stage in the life cycle of these products; often after several re-sales when the original provenance of the item was lost or conveniently forgotten."[222] Thus, the line that defines an act as either 'making a fake' or 'making a copy' can be drawn by whether the copied works are intended to show clearly enough the existence of original work or works that the copy was made from. In the case of copying – not faking – the copied object does not necessarily have to use the same materials or scale to keep a recognisable identity which belonged to the original. In order to maintain a coherent as well as distinct identity, "The overall 'character and appearance' could be more important, to more people, than the authenticity of the original materials". Japanese 'timber temples' are used as another example by Jukka Jokilehto.[223]

[220] Assi Eman, 2000. *Searching for the concept of authenticity: implementation guidelines*, p.60-61
[221] David Lowenthal, 1990. 'Forging the past' In M. Jones (ed.) *Fake? The Art of Deception*. London: British Museum Publications, p.21
[222] Gunila Jive´ N and Peter J. Larkham, 2003. 'Sense of Place, Authenticity and Character: A Commentary', p.76
[223] Jukka Jokilehto, 1999. *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth

Although the interests of these researchers are often limited to European cities in medieval or contemporary times, as Suzuki suggested, this concept of *genius loci* can be used to gain a greater understanding of the complex and intertwined situation that was the replication of sacred space in 17th century Edo and beyond. Since Kyoto was restored by Hideyoshi from the devastation caused during the Ōnin war in the 15th century, when we look at Edo (which was created from relatively humble conditions in the 17th century) it is crucial to bear the concept of *genius loci* in mind. This then enables us to understand how people of two different cities, one resurrected and one newly built, understood the concept when building their own city and how they perceived their city within a historical flow.

"Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences."[224]

Rulers of large areas in Japan regularly undertook the practise of climbing either a hill or mountain to view their territory. This act is called *kunimi*. Through this symbolic gesture, not only a ruler could gain a better understanding of just how much they own and command, but also to demonstrate how much political power they possess to others. This act is then recorded as in a form of *waka* poetry making known as *kunimi uta* or *kunimi ka.*[225] *Kunimi* was practised throughout the rule of several different emperors, and held a strong significance to those who knew about it. The Ashikaga shogun viewed Kyoto from Kiyomizu-dera when he became a new shogun. Kiyomizu-dera was later copied into a new structure at one of the highest points in Edo: the Kiyomizu-dō 清水堂. Additionally, Hideyoshi famously visited Yoshino in 1594 together with Ieyasu to view cherry blossoms in Nara, as well as visiting Daigo-ji temple and its mountain to view the cherry blossoms in 1598.[226] Much the same as Ashikaga shogun viewed Kyoto, it was at the top of the same Higashiyama mountain where Hideyoshi decided to build Daibutsu in Kyoto. Therefore, the physical presence of rulers in locations where they could see their territory not only had a military importance, but also possessed a political significance – one which they inherited from their predecessors. As seen above this understanding of the act of viewing by Japanese rulers suggests that overlooking their own territory was understood as a symbolical action. Therefore, as previously discussed,

[224]Kevin Linch, 1960. *The image of the city*. Massachusetts: MIT press, p.1
[225]Shimada Shūzō, 1995. 'Kunimiuta kō: Hitomaro Yoshino sanka ni okeru dentō no henyō' In *Shukutoku kokubun vol. 36*. Nagoya: Aichi shokutoku tanki daigaku,p.1-39
[226] See Fig. 6

having an image that depicts their own city or cities by these rulers could be well connected to the idea of claiming as well as demonstrating their own authority over those depicted cities.

2.2.2 Miniaturization of Nature

Creating space or scenery to become a poetic and picturesque location was not only practised in Japan, and was initially a Chinese tradition. The most well-known example from China is 'the eight views of Xiaoxiang' in present day Hunan province, China which are known as *shōshō hakkei* in Japanese. Many painters and poets used this location in their works as early as the 10th century such as Dong Yuan 董源 (c.934-c.962) and Song Di 宋迪 (c.1015-c.1080) in the 11th century. This location was introduced to Japan during the late Kamakura period by Zen monks who studied in China. It is said that poet Reizei Tamesuke 冷泉為相 (1263-1328) was the first poet to compose *waka* about this Chinese scene[227]. The image of *shōshō hakkei* first gained popularity amongst Zen monks and later with aristocrats and samurai clans, and it became more widely recognised after the Muromachi period. *Waka* and paintings were inspired by the location and, similarly to the concept in China, they physically coexisted as one piece of art, as a painting and the poem attached to it.[228]

The domestication of s*hōshō hakkei* occurred due to the influence of aristocrat Konoe Nobutada 近衛信尹 （1565-1614). The poet Ban Kōkei 伴蒿蹊 (1733-1806) recorded that Konoe used the views of Ōmi Province to create a Japanese equivalent to s*hōshō hakkei*.[229] This is known as *Ōmi hakkei*. *Ōmi hakkei* was painted by Kanō Tan'yū, Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎（1760-1849), Andō Hiroshige 安藤広重 (1797-1858) and other artists.

Recreating 'the eight views' became popular in the early Edo period and other *hakkei* were created. For example, Miura Jōshin 三浦浄心 (1565-1644), a samurai and writer in the early Edo period who lived in Kan'ei-ji at Ueno 上野, published a book called *Meisho Waka Monogatari* in 1614, and in it he introduces *Kanazawa hakkei* which is located in Musashi

[227]Ariyoshi Tamotsu, 1984. 'Chūsei bungaku ni oyoboshita chūgoku bungaku no eikyō – shōshō hakkei shi no baai' In *Nihon bunka no sōgōteki tankyū gengo to bungaku*. Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha
[228] Horikawa Takashi, 2006. 'Shōsō hakkei to waka' In *Waka wo hiraku vol. 3 waka no zuzōgaku*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, p.170-181
[229]Ban Kōkei, 1801. *Kanden kōhitsu*. Sazai Sōshirō

province.[230] This shows that duplicating images or borrowing ideas or impressions attached to a specific location, even if that place was a considerable distance away, and applying it to a new place, was popular and widely accepted in Japanese culture during the 17th century.

When considering *nadokoro* Edo was not particularly a suitable place to produce many pictorial images. Ōkubo uses various *ukiyo-e* to examine the relationship between *waka* poems and their symbolised image painted by *ukiyo-e* artists. He states that these painters had a strong interest in depicting the Sumida River as a *nadokoro*. He also points out that there were not many places which were connected with an image created by *waka* in Edo, which stemmed from the fact that Edo was still at that time a newly established city.[231] This lack of famous places might also contribute to Tokugawa's decision on copying some of the sacret places in Kyoto into their own territory of Edo, because possessing *waka* in a city generates cultural attraction.

In contrast to the newness of Edo, a great number of *nadokoro* were made in and around Kyoto and poems about the locations were composed throughout the centuries. Since the early Tang dynasty, the elite developed an aesthetic appreciation of uniquely shaped stones and rocks and gave extra meaning and significance to these objects. This is called *penjing* in Chinese, and was introduced to Japan in the early 14th century under the name *bonkei* or *bonseki*.[232] This is a *mitate* (which is explained in Chapter 3.2.2) form of finding natural landscapes, and when more than a few stones are used to create *mitate* it is then known as *hakoniwa* or *shukukei. Bonkei* are depicted in paintings as early as c. 1309, in the *Kasuga gongen ki-e* hand scrolls which were made with lavish materials such as silk and gold. The scrolls were made in order to praise the longevity of the Fujiwara clan by depicting the protection given and miracles performed by Kasuga Gongen, a combination of a *kami* and Buddha. Kasuga Gongen is a god recognised under the theory of religious syncretism between Buddhism and Shinto, who was worshipped at the present-day Kasuga Taisha in Nara. During the time *Kasuga gongen ki-e* were made, the aristocrats also created miniature decorations which represented a scene of Mt. Penglai (*Hōrai-san* in Japanese). This mountain is a mythical

[230]Kanagawa Kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko (ed.) 1993. *Kanazawa hakkei rekishi keikan bijutsu*. Kanagawa: Kenritsu Kanazawa Bunko

[231] Ōkubo Junichi, 2006. 'Ukioe no meishoe to waka' In *Waka wo hiraku vol. 3 waka no zuzōgaku*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, p.193-204

[232]Li Shuhua, 1995. 'Chūgoku bonkei meishokō, nihon zōen gakkai kenkyū happyō ronbun shū nr.13' In *Randosukepu kenkyū: Nihon zōen gakkai shi vol.58 nr.5* p.61-64

island which appeared in both Chinese and Japanese mythology. In China, it is believed to be a place where the eight godly immortals dwelt. The people also believed that the island provided wealth and eternal life, since the mountain on the island is made of gold and eternal life is guaranteed by a magical fruit offered by these immortal figures. It is believed that a Chinese Emperor of the state of Qin, QinShi Huang[233] 秦始皇 (260-210 B.C.), firmly believed in the existence of this mythical island and sent court sorcerer Xu Fu to find the island. [234] Like in the case of Kyoto sometimes calling themselves that of Chinese capitals, this further indicates the Japanese interest in copying or taking the idea from China.

The miniaturised scenery of Mt. Penglai is called *shimadai*[235] which is a table-like object. The main difference is that the usual table surface area is not rectangular, but it has the shape of the island itself as if looked at from a birds-eye view. This object was decorated with stones, rocks and trees, as well as with food which symbolised the never-ending wealth of the island. For this particular reason, the *shimadai* was a common object to be displayed at a wedding. Nowadays, people also display this object over the New Year period. Inoguchi Shōji states that Chinese celebrations for the first day of spring, and the widely-adopted tradition of placing food in this manner influenced Japanese tradition.[236] Although the practices and ideas of *bonkei*, *bonseki* and *shimadai* did not arrive in Japan until the early 18th century[237] *bonseki* had already become something of a popular practice in the Muromachi period.

Some of those *bonseki* became particularly famous due to their unique history, and these are known as *meibutsu seki*. One of these stones is called *Sue no Matsuyama*, and the stone is said to have been brought from China by Sōami 相阿弥 (unknown-1525), a landscape artist, painter, poet and tea practitioner. When Sōami helped to create Higashiyama-dono, which is a present-day Jishō-ji temple but is more commonly known as Ginkaku-ji temple[238] in the second half of the 15th century, it was presented to Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1436-1490), the eighth shogun of the Muromachi shogunate who was a central figure in the

[233] The King of the state of Qin
[234] Sima, Quian, c. 109 b.c. Records of the Grand Historian, Biographies of Huainan and Hengshan In Aoki, G. ed., 2014. *Shinshaku kanbun taikei Vol. 120.* Tokyo: Meiji Shoin
[235] It is also called as *shimagata*, *suhamagata* or *suhama*
[236] Inoguchi Shōji, 2001. 'Definition of 'shimadai'' In *Nihon Daihyakka Zensho: nipponica.* Tokyo: Shogakukan
[237] Ozawa Hiromu, 2006. 'Edobunka no biishiki – micuro no sekai to sono waza' In Minzoku Geijutsu Gakkai (ed.) *Minzoku geijutsu vol. 22.* Tokyo: Minzoku Geijutsu Gakkai, p.26
[238] Officially named as Jishō-ji

so-called *Higashiyama* culture. When Oda Nobunaga protected the falling Ashikaga family this stone belonged to Nobunaga, and when Nobunaga attacked and failed to conquer Ishiyama Honganji in Osaka in 1580, he made a peace treaty with Kōsa.[239] When Kōsa and his followers left Ishiyama Hongan-ji, Nobunaga presented him with this stone together with a tea bowl (Fig. 9).[240]

Fig. 9: *Sue no Matsuyama* stone

Placing a value in this type of stone was also inherited as a practice by other prominent historic figures. A stone called *Yumeno Ukihashi* was first owned by the Ashikaga shogunate, and in the 14th century it came into the possession of Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐天皇 (1288-1339). It is said that he carried this stone with him at all times, and that when he was captured by the Kamakura shogunate and banished to Oki Island the Ashikaga shogunate took this stone away from the emperor. It was then owned by other figures, including Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu, and it was subsequently given to the highest branch of the Tokugawa clan, the Owari Tokugawa family.

Bonseki and how nature is represented in a much smaller artificial form in Japan together with the relationship of *waka* poetry making which will be further discussed in Chapter 3. Sōma China examines *suhama* and states that it is used as a garden-making technique as well as being an object shaped by the sea. She continues to explain that it was

[239]He is also known as Honganji Kōsa (1543-1592)
[240]Tanimoto Hyakuho and Murata Keiji (eds.) 1969. *Furuya meiseki sōkan*. Tokyo: Jusekisha

closely connected with the *uta awase* tradition, which was a competition of *waka* poetry composition between two groups. When these competitions were held during the Heian period, people placed *suhama* in their own premises where the competition was held. Therefore, they knew that the theme of this competition would be *suhama*. At the same time, they understood that it is not a mere small amount of stones positioned alongside the pond, but was seen as a sea shore and they are facing the sea. The development of *shimadai* which miniaturised Mt. Hōrai seems to inherit this tradition of making *suhama.* This creation of both *suhama* and *shimadai* continued to be popular as an art form even in the Edo period. Sōma points out that the location where this object was displayed created a unique space of positive charm – in a religious sense – and thus was used at a time of celebration.[241]

Literature played an important part in this *bonseki* tradition as well. For example, *Sueno Matsuyama* came from a famous *utamakura* place near Taga castle in present-day Miyazaki prefecture, where one of the 36 immortals of *waka* poetry, Kiyohara no Motosuke 清原元輔 (908-990), included words by *Sueno Matsuyama* in his works.[242] However, this is a *honkadori* poem[243] and the words "*Sueno Matsuyama"* appeared in *Kokin Wakashū* which was created in the early 10th century. The original *waka*[244] was composed by an anonymous person. *Yumeno Ukihashi*[245] takes its name from the identically-titled volume in *The Tale of Genji* and later this was presented in *waka*[246] by Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241).[247]

Making a miniature landscape, such as Mt. Hōrai, was widely practised in Japanese garden-making and is called *shukukei.*[248] *Shukukei* is normally defined as scenery built inside the garden to imitate natural scenes, often *nadokoro* and four season paintings. It was a

[241]Sōma China, 2007. ''Suhama' kō: teien bunka no eikyō' In *Nihon bungaku vol.56, nr.4*. Tokyo: Nihon Bungaku Gakkai, p.1-8
[242]Fujiwara, M. ed., 1086. Goshūi Wakashū. In Kubota, A. and Hirata, Y. ed., 1994.*Shin Nihon Koten Taikei*.Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten
[243]Chigirikina katamini sodewo shiboritsutsu sue no matsuyama nami kosaji towa
[244]Kimiwo okite adashigokorowo waga motaba sue no matsuyama namimo koenam
[245]This might also be borrowing its name from a mythical bridge which appears in both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, this bridge is called as Amano Ukihashi, the heavenly floating bridge. At the early stage of the creation of the world, both Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto stood on this bridge and crossed the ocean to create the first land
[246]Harunoyono yumeno ukihashi todaeshite mineni wakaruru yokogumono sora in *Shinkokin wakashū*in 1205
[247]Interestingly, both *sue no matsuyama* and *yume no ukihashi*are linked by *waka* which was made by Fujiwara no Ietaka (1158-1237). He uses the word *sueno matsuyama* and *yokogumono sora* which is used in Teika's *waka* when he sung *yumeno ukihashi*
[248]This could be called *shukkei* aswell

frequently used technique between the Heian and Edo periods.[249] The first appearance of *shukukei* was featured in *Nihon Shoki*,[250] which leaves a record of a civil engineer from Baekje or Kudara 百済 kingdom on the Southwest of Korean peninsula, called Michiko no Takumi 路子工. When he arrived in Japan in 612 he created a miniature Mt. Shumi.[251] He built this miniature version of the mountain together with a Chinese-style bridge inside the imperial palace of Oharidanomiya, which is present-day Asuka in Nara. What is intriguing is that this is not only the first appearance of *shukukei* but also the first appearance of garden-making itself.

Mt. Shumi is also known in the English-speaking world as Mt. Meru,[252] a sacred mountain which is said to have five peaks. It is regarded as a central existence in the field of both metaphysical and physical universes by different faiths, such as Hinduism, Buddhism and in Jain cosmology.[253] Like Mt. Hōrai, Mt. Shumi is located in the middle of the ocean, but also at the centre of the entire universe. According to the Buddhist Sutra of *Abhidharma-kosha*, Buddhist deities live on the mountain and they subsist on the heavenly rain which falls on the mountain.

The making of miniature Mt. Shumi models continued in 653,[254] the year in which the miniature mountain was made at Asukadera temple. Painted images of Mt. Shumi were often created in the Kamakura period. These images continued to be popular until the 16th century.[255]

Both Mt. Shumi and Mt. Hōrai were easily confused, mixed up or even considered as one in later periods.[256] These mixtures of two different mythical islands can be understood through the mix between the Chinese belief in the existence of immortals in Daoism and the Japanese idea of *tokoyo* as a world of the afterlife. This mix-up of different locations, especially mythical mountains, could well have happened as early as the 8th century. Mt. Hōrai also

[249]Akira Matsumura (ed.) 2006. *Daijirin, 3rd edition, shukukei section*. Sanseidō Shoten
[250]Toneri Shinnō (1610) *Nihon shoki vol.22*, empress Suiko section
[251]Tanaka Masahiro, 1954. 'Shumisen kenkyū no shomondai III' In *Zōen zasshi, vol. 18, nr.3-4.* Tokyo: Nihon Zōen Gakkai, p.9-10
[252]This is also called as *sumeru* in Sanskrit or *sineru* in Pali languages, both meaning wonderful Meru
[253]Madan Gopal, 1990. *India through the ages*. Government of India: Publication division, Ministry of information and broadcasting, p.78
[254]Toneri Shinnō (1610) *Nihon shoki vol.23*, empress Saimei section
[255]Ibid., p.49-54
[256]Sōma China, 2007. ''Suhama' kō: teien bunka no eikyō', p.6

appeared in literature, such as in the well-known figure of Mizue Urashimano Ko – widely known as Urashima Tarō today.[257]

This act of bringing an imaginary location into a real place also led to the inclusion of a natural landscape into a garden by creating a miniature version of it, and this was widely practised throughout the 17th and the 18th century both in Kyoto and Edo. In 1620 Asano Nagaakira 浅野長晟 (1586-1632), a daimyo, created a garden in Hiroshima prefecture. This garden was designed by tea practitioner Ueda Sōko 上田宗箇 (1563-1650), who was also known as a great landscape artist. The original garden represents the sceneries around the West Lake or Xi Hu in Hangzhou, China, which was known for its beautiful scenery. The garden copied this scenery through miniaturising its scale. The garden contains a few islands, including an island called little Hōrai, and it borrows the external mountain view of the island Itsukushima as a representation of Mt. Shumi. In 1713, records show that the garden was known as Shukukeien, literally meaning the garden of Shukukei.[258] Therefore, it is clear that people of the time understood this garden as a miniature representation of both mythical and actual scenery.

This technique of *shukukei* was used in other garden-making that occurred in and around the 17th century. According to Tsai, many gardens which belonged to daimyo used this *shukukei* technique. For instance, Kōraku-en garden in Okayama prefecture (which was built by Ikeda Tsunamasa) incorporates a recognisable landscape known as Yuishinsan which miniaturised Mt. Fuji. In Kuribayashi Kōen, which was created by both daimyo Ikoma Takatoshi 生駒高俊 (1611-1659) and Matsudaira Yorishige 松平頼重 (1622-1695) around 1625, there is a miniature of the famous West Lake of China as well as an island called Hōrai Sentō, which can be translated as 'an island of Mt. Hōrai and immortals'.[259]

[257]Fujiwara, T. ed,. 1301. Shoku Nihongi Vols.11, 12 In Naoki, K. Ed,. (1986-1992) *Shaku Nihongi*. Tokyo: Heibonsha.Note: although it is completed in 1301 it copies the already existed and now lost manuscripts, the Tale of Urashima is cited in now lost *Tangokoku fudoki* which is believed to be completed at the first half of the 8th century

[258]Hiroshimaken kankyō kenminkyoku bunka geijutsuka (ed.) 2012. *Meisho shukkei-en hozon kanri keikakusho.* Hiroshima: Hiroshimaken Kankyō Kenminkyoku, p.1-190

[259] Tsai Lungming, 2014. 'Daimyo teinen no bishitsu ni tsuite no bunseki: Sandai meien wo rei toshite' In *Sankenronshū vol.46/47*. Sapporo: Sapporo University, p.151-159

The Katsura Imperial Villa known as Katsura-rikyū, established by Prince Hachijō Toshihito (1579-1629), also uses this technique of *shukukei*. One of the most obvious examples of this is the creation of copied scenery of Amano Hashidate, by making two small islands in a large lake connected by a sand bar.[260] Amano Hashidate is a well-known *utamakura* place from the Heian period, and the female poet Koshikibu no Naishi (999-1025) famously sang about this location.[261] This place was also highly appreciated in paintings of the time, but the most important image associated with this location is the painting of Amano Hashidate by Sesshū Tōyō (1420-1506) which was painted between 1501 and 1506.[262] This painting portrays a religious world in which both Shinto *kami* and Buddhist deities coexist by changing the actual reality of the scene.[263]

It is known that by 1615 the main building of this villa was completed. By 1629, through the description of *Keitei Ki* written by Ishin Sūden, we can see that both the garden and buildings are completed.

Amano Hashidate is also described as a ladder to connect heaven and earth. According to the *Nihon Shoki*, the sand bar connecting the islands said to have been built by Izanagi no Mikoto, a Japanese god. While Izanagi no Mikoto was asleep the ladder – which had originally stood upright – fell down, which created Amano hashidate.[264]

Shukukei is also applied in not only garden making, but also in the field of *bonseki* or *bonkei*. Ida Taro introduces the concept that sometimes these *shukukei* were made by taking the form of *bonseki*, although this is not the case in the 17th century. However, in the 18th century there are some images of these *shukukei* style *bonseki* depicted and printed. One of them is called *Tōkaidō Gojūsantsugi Hachiyama Zue*.[265] This is a *bonseki* version copying the famous image of a woodblock print made by Utagawa Hiroshige in 1833-1834. This activity

[260]Kyoto Shinbun Shuppan Sentā (ed.) 2004. *Kyoto shinbun, katsuira rikyū shugakuin rikyū*. Kyoto: Kyoto Shinbun Shuppan Senta, p.124
[261]Oeama ikunonomichino tookerewa mada humimo mizu amano hashidate
[262]Monochrome ink painting on paper, now possesed by Kyoto National museum, 90.2 cm x 169.5 cm
[263]Shimizu Minoru, 2011. 'Nihon bijutsu ni miru 'hashi' monogatari – amano hashidate kara nihonbashi made' In *Nihonbashi kakyō hyakunen kinen tokubetsuten nihon bijutsu ni miru hashi monogatari – amano hashidate kara nihon bashi made*. Tokyo: Mitsui Kinen Bijutsukan, p.6-20
[264]Ibid., p.7
[265]1848, 24.9 cm x 17.2 cm, Utagawa yoshishige, owned by Kokugungaku kenkyū shiryokan

proves the cultural attitude for copying through miniatuarising a world object continued to exist in the given time.

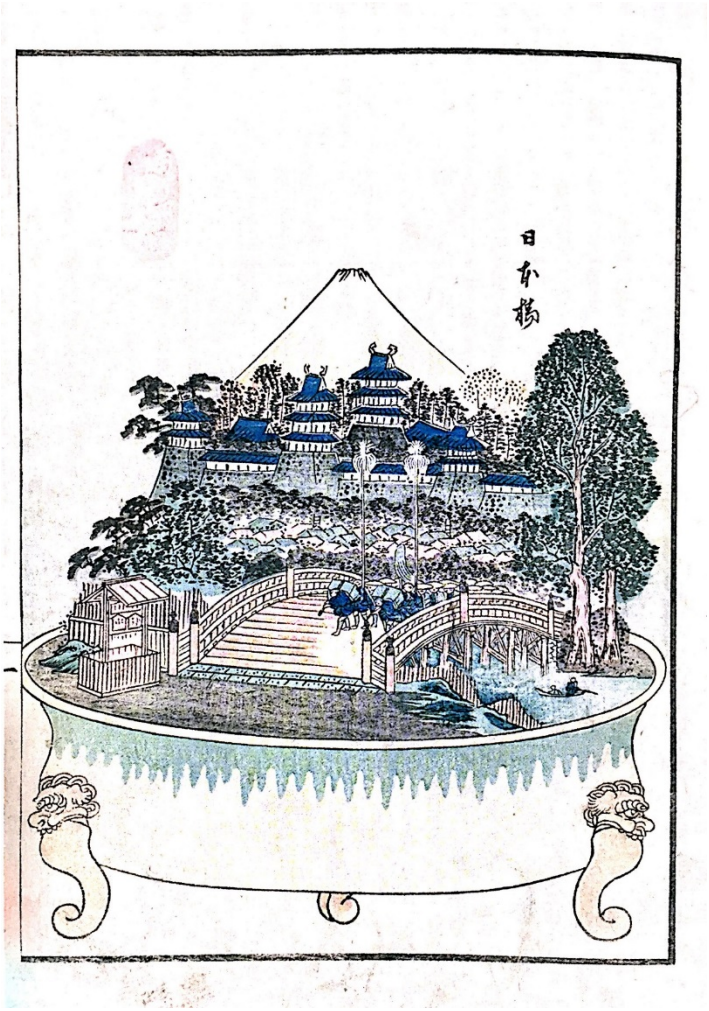

Fig. 10: Kimura Tōsen and Utagawa Yoshihige, *Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi Hachiyama Zue* (1848)

Examination of these cases above gives a strong indication of a certain attitude that Japanese people took in regard to well-known locations, both mythical and existing. This is not an act that mainly puts an emphasis of making a miniature version of some random places and to make the miniature object important, but rather expecting the viewer or the owner to understand the historical narrative of these famous places. Distant locations were idealised by *waka* poems and expressed in miniature versions in Japan. *Waka* and the miniaturised world, including paintings, were intertwined as well as interdependent in order to create and maintain the value of these locations. Each piece of scenery was copied, but not necessarily created or finished in an identical way by applying exactly the same measures of the original scenery.

Even so, this method was considered important in order to maintain the identical identity of the two works, an identity which is closely associated with the original site itself. This specific attitude was strongly present in 17th century Japan, especially within the elite class. This is largely because these people considered famous locations to be inseparable from the history attached to the location, particularly when they had the ability to create something new or on their own. Internalisation of these profound locations through miniaturisation of things was not only necessary in order to copy these locations, but also fundamentally crucial to the very people who create these places in order to internalise the past and place themselves amongst these historic narratives. Also, as discussed in the act of *kunimi*, through having these miniaturised objects they could metaphysically possess and claim the land which was replicated and that further suggests Tokugawa shogunates act of copying these sites were to be understood in a similar manner.

2.2.3 Dividing Deities

In the history of Japanese religion, people frequently divided the holy essence of either *kami* or Buddhist deities and transferred this essence to one or more locations a significant physical distance away. This was done in order to transfer that sacredness to these new locations. This practice is often called *kanjō,* but is also known as *bunrei, bunshi* and *mitama utsushi.* It is important to note that *kanjō* should not be mistaken with the similar Buddhist ritual of *kanjō* or *kanchō* which is written with different Chinese characters. While the term *kanjō* this thesis introduces here is applied when making and/or moving religious space, the Buddhist *kanjō,* which is often practiced in tantric Buddhism, is defined as "teachings and ritual procedures transmitted to novices in the form of initiation ceremonies".[266]

Strangely, there has apparently been no extensive academic research that investigates the general concepts of *kanjō* and *bunrei*. These words are easily confused and have complex connotations, but at the same time are fundamental when trying to understand the traditional religious practice of Japanese people. For this reason, a more detailed description is needed. According to the *Encyclopaedia of Shinto*, the term *bunrei* is described as "dividing the spirit, and states that "the term refers to entreating (kanjō) a deity enshrined in one location to impart the divine presence to another location. The deity of such a branch shrine (*bunshi*, *bunsha*,

[266]JohnBreen, 2010. *A new history of Shinto*. United States: Blackwell, p.142

niimiya, *imamiya*) is a divided spirit of the enshrined deity of the main shrine"[267] while *kanjō* is defined as "transferring the divided spirit of the *kami* to another shrine". [268] The word *kanjō* also symbolises the syncretism of Buddhism and Shinto. It originally came from Buddhism as a way to ask Buddha to stay in this world, not in the Nirvana or Pure Land, in order to spread his Buddhist teachings and to protect human beings. In Japan, as this syncretism developed, it was also used for asking for god's wisdom by the *Suijaku Shin* or Suijaku deity.

The theory of *honji suijaku* is a term in Japanese religion which describes the appearance of Buddhist deities in Japan by taking the form of Shinto *kami*, in order to convince Japanese people of the Buddhist teachings.[269] This theory was widely spread by Tendai monks in the late Heian period, and there was a practise in tantric Buddhism, which determined which Buddhist deity was equivalent to which Shinto *kami*.[270] Sueki points out that, in contrast to Buddhism which focuses on universal thought and understanding, Japanese *kami* are often connected with specific locations.[271] As the syncretism between Buddhism and Shinto was widely accepted, Buddhist deities also started to be connected to those specific locations, such as Kannon at Kiyomizu-dera and Ishiyama-dera. This type of *honji suijaku* faith was most typically developed in Sannō Shinto, which is a mixture of the worship of Mt. Hiei and the Shinto and Tendai sects.[272]

Sueki also confirms that, religiously speaking, the act that symbolised the era of Hideyoshi was the construction of the Great Buddha at Hōkō-ji. He continues to explain that this was because monks from different religious sects were invited to pray for the repose of the souls of Hideyoshi's parents. This essentially acted as a ritual which forced these sects to pledge their loyalty to Hideyoshi.[273]

The literal meaning of *bunrei* is "dividing the spirit". *Bunrei* therefore is an action performed on the already existing *kami*, in which the *kami*'s holiness or sacredness is divided.

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[267]Nishioka Kazuhiko, 2007. *Bunrei.* Encyclopedia of Shinto [Online] Available from: http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=1476 [Accessed: June 15th 2015]
[268]Nishioka Kazuhiko, 2007. *Kami.* Encyclopedia of Shinto [Online] Available from: http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=1201 [Accessed: June 15th 2015]
[269] JohnBreen and MarkTeeuwen, 2000.*Shinto in history: ways of the kami*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii press, p.95
[270]Fumihiko Sueki, 2006. *Nihon shūkyō*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, p.46
[271] Ibid., p.90
[272] Ibid., p.91
[273] Ibid., p.135

It is important that, when this action takes place, the *kami* which is subjected to be divided in its holiness does not reduce in its original value or become diluted by the *bunrei*. Therefore, *bunrei* could be practiced numerous times without decreasing the power and influence of the spirit. Historically, some *kami* have regularly been divided in this way. After this, the second step can take place. This is the act of *kanjō* which can only be practiced after the ritual of *bunrei* is completed. Therefore, to the people these two actions are inseparable, because when *bunrei* is completed the newly-created *kami* needs its own place to reside. Thus, *kanjō* needs to be practised in such a way that this spirit and value is moved along with a newly-created *kami* – in other words, the *kami* is 'copied' into a new location. When these two acts are conducted, the people of the new locale need to create a religious site for the spirit. They have to build a religious building or shrine in order to enshrine and worship this 'copied' *kami*. This site is therefore known as *bunshi*, combining two kanji characters literally meaning 'divided' and 'worship'. Usually, only one *kami* is 'copied' at a time. This *kami* then becomes a main worshipped figure in the new location, which is known as *saijin*, in a new shrine.

There are different names given to these new shrines, such as *wakamiya*, *betsugū*, *massha* and *sessha*. According to documents from Ise shrine, there is a hierarchical ranking system that exists within these shrines.[274] For instance, within the Ise shrine there are a total of 125 existing shrines, but only two of the shrines are considered to be the most important and are known as *shōgū*. There are then 14 *betsugū* which hold secondary importance in this system, followed by 43 *sessha*. The majority of these *sessha* ceased to exist during the Sengoku period, due to the lack of support given by the imperial household, however these were revived from the Kan'ei period onwards. Next in the hierarchy is *massha*, followed by *shokan-sha*. Although many of the shrines which were not considered the highest within their rank were not created through the act of *bunrei* and *kanjō*, typically when a well-known, powerful *kami* was invited to the shrine these *betsugū* and following shrines were created through the act of *bunrei*.

Betsugū, unlike *sessha* or *massha*, usually has an especially close association to the original shrine. It is often located within the same territory as the original shrine, and sometimes these *betsugū* represent the worshipping of different characteristics of the same

[274] Taiyō no chizu chō henshūbu (ed.) 2013. *Ise jingū – shikinen sengū to 125 yashiro wo meguru tabi*. Tokyo: Heibonsha

main figure of worship. This can be explained by the way the Japanese people saw *kami*, which in their view has two interdependent sides. One is *nigitama* or *nikitama*, literally meaning 'harmonious spirit' which explains the *kami*'s beneficial side to a human being such as providing the right amount of rain and giving protection to the harvest. The other side is called *aratama*, meaning 'wild spirit', which symbolises the negative effect that the *kami* brings to people. Those negatives include the spread of disease, drought, fire and earthquakes. In the case of Ise shrine, one of the two main shrines enshrine *nikitama* and the *betsugū* within the same territory contains the *aratama* of the same god as the enshrined *kami*.

When a *kami* is considered powerful and famous, the natural consequence is that more people in different locations would like to 'copy' it. Therefore, there are some famous and powerful shrines which became quite widely copied. One of these is Hachiman-gū. There are 44,000 Hachiman-gū shrines existing today in Japan. The Hachiman is a *kami* similar to the Roman god Mars, and was worshipped by many samurai including the Taira and Minamoto clans. Many of these temples are built within the shrine temple complex in Miroku temple, which is called *jingū-ji*. This widespread activity of copying *kami* to a shine continued to be popular during the 17th and the 18th century. This proves that when both Hideyoshi copied the Great Buddha into Kyoto and the Tokugawa shogunate replicated the sacred sites into Edo, their act was not to be understood as an odd thing, but rather to be seen as a previously practiced act of copy.

Under the beliefs of the Shinto faith, animals could be considered as *kami*. The most well-known *kami* in this category is Inari no Kami which is a fox, most commonly known as *Oinari-sama*. This is a god which is said to represents many fields of life, such as business, entertainment, food and fertility. The headquarters of the fox god is Inari Jinja, the present-day Fushimi Inari Taisha in Kyoto, the establishment of which can be dated back to the 8th century. This shrine and its *kami* became very popular after the medieval period, as both the manufacturing industry and commercial activities became widely practised. As many as 3,000 shrines have copied Inari no Kami, and numerous other shrines have been copied at a smaller local scale.[275]

[275] Ōmori Keiko, 2011. *Inari shinkō no sekai – inari matsuri to shinbutsu shūgō, chapter 1*. Tokyo: Keiyūsha

During the Edo period, this trend of copying Inari no Kami further escalated. It became particularly popular in the eastern half of Japan, mainly within the Kantō region.[276] In Edo there were so many Inari shrines, created either publicly or privately, that at one point, a satirical *senryū*-like[277] word play was created. It reads:

Edoni ōki mono	What are many in Edo
Ise-ya[278], Inari ni	Ise-ya, Inari and
Inuno kuso	Dog excrement[279]

Syncretism of Buddhism and Shinto created a *kami* known as Ame no Mikumari no Kami or Kunino Mikumari no Kami which is a manifestation of Buddhist deity of Suiten. Suiten belonged to tembu or deva in Sanskrit classification. Amagozen no Yashiro or Amagozen-sha or more commonly known as Suiten-gū in Kurume increased in popularity and became a subject to be copied by many after the Edo period.[280]

This method of copying shrines was not limited to historical shrines, but could happen to newly-established shrines. The most notable example of this is Tōshō-gū shrine which worships Tokugawa Ieyasu. Upon his death in 1616, the following deification of Ieyasu in the 2nd month of 1617 and the completion of Tōshō-gū shrine in the same year at both Mt. Kunō, present day Shizuoka Prefecture and Mt. Nikkō, present day Tochigi Prefecture, many people, especially Ieyasu's relatives, branching families and other daimyo families, copied Tōshō-gū in their own locations.

This widespread trend of copying *kami* became no longer limited only to the level of building new shrines for certain areas, but further developed to bring the concept into individual households. This was called *kamidana*. The Encyclopedia of Shinto states that from

[276] Karen Ann. Smyers, 1999. *The Fox and the Jewel: Shared and Private Meanings in Contemporary Japanese Inari Worship*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii

[277] Although this is similar to haiku poems, this short poetry is constructed with three lines, while haikunormally described the beauty in nature, senryū is closely associated to human activity involving satiricalness and vulgarity. It doesnt require to include a seasonal word which haiku does.

[278] Iseiya refers to merchants from Ise region where Tokugawa had a strong influence on. Many merchants from Ise came to practice business and they often referred their name of the business as Iseya

[279] Makino Osamu and Yamaori Tetsuo, 2011. *Edo Tokyo no jisha nr.609 wo aruku shitamachi tōkō hen*. Tokyo: PHP kenkyū jo, p.63. Translation is made by Terumi Toyama

[280] Koga Mizue, 2013. 'Suitengū shinkō no tenkai ni tsuite: Kurumekara Edo e' In *Bukkyō daigaku in kiyō bungaku kenkyū ka hen vol. 41.* Kyoto: Bukkyō Daigaku, p.1-18

the medieval period, the spread of the Ise cult led to the custom of installing *kamidana* for the enshrinement of *kami* that had been "dedicated" (*kanjō*) from another locale. In the Edo period, priests called *oshi* promoted the broader spread of the Ise cult to the populace, and it became customary to construct special Ise altars (*Daijingū Dana*) to enshrine an amulet (*taima* or *ofuda*) from the Grand Shrines (*jingū*)."[281] The practise of installing *kamidana* thus started to spread in the mid-Edo period. Although the tradition of having household shrines was quite common historically, the Chinese traditionally created a space to enshrine Daoist ancestral and Buddhist gods. Takemitsu Makoto states that "it is certain that since the Jōmon period each household took part in these religious ceremonies"[282] due to the syncretism of Buddhism and Shinto. He also writes that "towards the end of the Heian period, rites for ancestral spirits (*sorei*) were entrusted to Buddhism, and it became customary to enshrine ancestral tablets (*ihai*) in Buddhist altars (*butsudan*)."[283] This is also confirmed by Mitsui in the following: "*Butsudan* became central to a household's religious practices due to the spread of Buddhism in the medieval period."[284] Even so, as a result, the only households which had *kamidana* were mainly old established houses of the samurai class that held a tradition of having faith in Shinto. This was because they were not necessarily always included in the *danka* system - all the commoners had to register to a family temple, and this therefore became part of its temple's parish.

Fujimoto Yorio also discusses the origin of *kamidana*. In its modern form, it can be found in Ise shrine's *jingū taima*, which was initially distributed during the Muromachi period.[285] This is further explained in detail by Mori Tatsuo.[286] Although one could argue that *jingū taima* are not strictly speaking an act of 'copying', this does ultimately indicate that many individuals from the end of the medieval period to early Edo Japan accepted the concept that holiness could be divided without losing the value of the original. Furthermore, these copied amulets were highly respected in each household and the people believed that they were sacred objects. In this way, the practice increased its popularity and was adopted by many individuals

[281]Okada Yoshiyuki, 2005. *Jingū.* Encyclopedia of Shinto [Online] Available from: http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=285 [Accessed: July 20th 2015]
[282]Takemitsu Makoto, 2003. *Shinto kara nihon no rekishi wo yomu hōhō nihonjin nara shitte okitai Shinto*. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, p.177
[283]Okada Yoshiyuki, 2005. Encyclopedia of Shinto [Online]
[284]Takemitsu Makoto, 2003. *Shinto kara nihon no rekishi wo yomu hōhō nihonjin nara shitte okitai Shinto*, p.177
[285]Fujimoto Yorio, 2014. *Jinja to kamisama ga yoku wakaruhon.* Tokyo: Shūwa Shisutemu, p.174
[286]Mori Tatsuo, 1992. *Jūkyo kūkan no saishi to girei, chapter 1-2*. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin

in Japan at this time, and this suggests their concept of a relationship between the original and a copy.

Sengū, according to the *Dictionary of Shinto* is "the transfer of the deity to a newly constructed shrine".[287] The word *sengū* is also used to explain the moving of a new Imperial palace.[288][289] The renewal of the Imperial Court was made when the previous emperor or empress either retired or died, and the new emperor or empress took over the throne by building a new Imperial palace.[290] Abe Hajime tried to analyse the reasons why a new emperor would decide to live in a new palace by introducing the family system of ancient Japan. The Imperial family used to create nuclear families, therefore when inheriting the throne building a new house was an essential requirement.

This is based on an idea that time repeats itself, which is an understanding of time in both a mythological and a circuital way. It was believed that the emperor received his divinity from Amaterasu, and this holiness is renewed eternally under the new emperors. This belief was also shared by other leaders who served under the Yamato court. It was from 694 that the situation changed, around the time when Fuyiwara-Okyō was built as a new capital and the Yamato court modelled on Chinese-style city planning. This suggests that the Yamato court shifts its interest from only looking at local territories to greater distances and other civilisations in China. As Yoshida Takashi points out, the framework of the concept of time was not linear in ancient Japan, but more of a circle shape where the time circulates and comes back to the same point.[291] When the Yamato court became large enough to turn their eyes to external civilisations, most obviously China, they started to use the Chinese way of building as a model for their own city, therefore they took the decision to relocate to a specific location permanently. Although they still moved their capital a few times during the 8th century, when Heian-kyō was established the location of the capital remained unchanged.

[287]Nakanishi Masayuki, 2006. *Sengu.* Encyclopedia of Shinto [Online] Available from: http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=747 [Accessed: 20 June 2015]
[288]Abe Hajime, 2013. Kodai nihon no rekidai sengū to kazoku shinzoku shisutemu In *Tōyōgakuen daigaku kiyō vol.21.* Tokyo: Tōyōgakuen Daigaku, p.17-35
[289]Tateno Kazumi, 2011. 'Rekidai sengū no riyū to sono kokuhuku' In *Kodaigaku nr.3*. Nara: Nara Joshi Daigaku Kodaigaku Gakujutsu Kenkyū Sentā, p.53-57
[290]Ibid., p.55
[291]Yoshida Takashi, 2006. *Rekishi no naka no tennō.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, p.34

Japanese reconstruction does not apply the same method that is widely used in the West. The Japanese understanding of reconstruction is not necessarily applied merely in the case of damaged or destroyed architecture, but also to relatively undamaged ones. In terms of conservational projects, the Japanese approach is not the same as the Western one. The Japanese pay no specific attention to the importance of what sort of historical condition the building should be restored to. Often, Japanese reconstructed buildings seem to put emphasis on recreating what is presumed to be the original shape at the time when the structure was created, and therefore they did not take great considerations on later additions or changes applied to that structure. It is also typically the case that Japanese reconstruction projects do not use the material which was used to create the original structure. For the Japanese, the primary aim of this sort of project is not to preserve the original material and the most recent form of the structure. Instead, they consider recreating what they perceive as the most appropriate shape and appearance, and therefore the reuse of the original construction method or of materials from the original structure is not their primary target.

Niels Gutschow[292] refers to a reconstruction of the Suzakumon gate as an extreme example of this Japanese attitude. The Suzakumon is the most important Imperial gate in Nara, and was constructed during the 8th century at the southern entrance to the capital in Nara prefecture. The Japanese government set up the reconstruction project in the mid-20th century and the gate was completed in 1998, just above the actual site where the gate used to stand before it was destroyed in 1209. They did not have the master plan of the gate as it was built so long ago so as a result they had to use pictorial depictions made during the 12th century as a guide, as well as applying construction techniques used in temple structures. All the material used for this reconstruction was new and, to protect the structure from possible earthquake damage, they used concrete and iron as the core of the pillars. The understanding of such an attitude towards historical architecture or of the site cannot be measured by the Western standard, and the following religious architecture and its reconstruction practice makes the situation even more puzzling. In other words, at least in the modern time the concept of recreating historical buildings cannot be understood in the same way as how Western historical reconstructions were made. And this attitude might reflect the idea of reconstruction in Japan which was practised earlier.

[292]Niels Gutschow, 2005. 'The Japanese Practice: Translation and Reconstruction', p.81

Ise Jingū or Jingū, the Ise Grand Shrine, is the most important shrine for the Japanese Imperial family. Its main worshipped Shinto deity is the goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami, who rules the heavenly celestial plain. It was believed by many Japanese for centuries that the Japanese Imperial household and the emperor were the direct descendants of this deity. It is said that in the early first century B.C. Emperor Suinin 垂仁天皇 (29 b.c.-70) established the Jingū.[293] The shrine has two main buildings, the inner shrine and the outer shrine, together with 123 other smaller shrines. Although the shrine did not have detailed regulations for ritual forms when it was established, this compound has increased in significance over time and the religious practice of reconstructing the shrines which began in the late 7th century continues up until today. Reconstruction of the shrines is conducted every 20 years, a practice which is known as *shikinen sengū*.

The sacred territory of Ise is divided into two sections within the same space of land. When the 20-year cycle approaches, they start constructing a renewed shrine in the empty section. At the time of completion of this reconstructed shrine, a religious ritual is performed and the sacredness of the divinity is then moved to the new shrine. The old shrine is carefully dismantled and the land that was used for the shrine lies empty for another 20 years. The fundamental difference between the practice of reconstruction and that of renewal is that, although both acts create copied architecture, one is based on the belief or the trust in the original material that has been damaged or lost, and another based on the faith in the 'living' existence of the supernatural power. This renewal practice also indicates the importance of purity. When seeing this act from a non-religious perspective, it is akin to building an identical new house and moving to it to avoid having to live in an old house and keep repairing it. The regular renewal process has been considered as a state responsibility since the reign of Emperor Tenmu (673-686). This was at a time when there was a great effort being made to establish a more centralised system to govern the state. This renewal process of the old building has also taken place in other locations. For example, the Sumiyoshi shrine in Osaka prefecture had a process of renewal construction between the mid-10th to the early 19th century. Kasuga shrine at Nara and Kamo shrine at Kyoto have both undertaken this ritualistic renewal project over the centuries. Further examples include Kashima shrine, Usa-jingū and others.

[293] *Nihon shoki*, section of emperor Suinin, it also appears in *Kojiki*

As one specific example, Kamo Wakeikazuchi shrine (commonly known as Kamigamo shrine) renewed its architecture at least 20 times before the Kan'ei period. It has been renewed eight times since the Kan'ei period. By this point in history, Kamo Wakeikazuchi shrine needed the Tokugawa shogunate's permission to conduct this renewal process. The shogunate approved these renewals only when the Kamo shrine sent a request to get the government's permission to conduct this process. The shrine did this by stating that the buildings were seriously damaged over time. Although Kamo Wakeikazuchi wanted to renew the shrine almost every 20 years, because of the shogunate's lack of enthusiasm in renewing the building these processes were severely delayed.[294] It is important to note that the Tokugawa shogunate did not always discourage these renewals. The Kunō-zan Tōshō-gū or Tōshō-gū at Mt. Kunō also conducted restoration of its architecture every 20 years. A significant difference between the renewal of the Ise shrine and the restoration of Mt. Kunō is that, while Ise completely copied and rebuilt the whole structure of the shrine, the main architecture at Mt. Kunō simply got rid of the old lacquer and painted a new layer. Due to Mt. Kunō's lavish decorations, it would also have been a significant disturbance to try and conduct the complete renewal of the building. This repainting of architecture at Mt. Kunō clearly demonstrates the Tokugawa shogunate's ambition of deifying their most powerful personage Tokugawa Ieyasu, as a *kami,* elevating the spirit to a similar or even equivalent existence as Amaterasu-ōmikami, the sun goddess.

This periodic renewal practice is possible partly because of the architectural materials used. Wooden building materials are much easier to obtain than stone, and the amount of effort and workload in processing is more economical when compared to using stone. There are many examples in which stones used in a certain structure are reused for other architecture all over the world, and Ise is no exception. However, due to the clear unchanged 20-year cycle of the same structural parts, they created a more systematic method to make use of these materials. After dismantling the old shrine structure, some of the important materials were used for other renewal projects that took place within and outside of the Ise shrine complex. For example, the largest pillar (7.5 metres high and 79cm in diameter) that supports the sides of the shrine was used for a *torii* gate inside the Ise shrine compound.

[294]Koide Yuko, 2012. 'Edo jidai no kamo wake ikazutchi jinja ni okeru sengū ni tsuite' In *Gakujutsu kōen kōgaishu.* Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, p.805-806

The *torii* gate indicates the entrance of the shrine territory, and it also functions to separate the holy and the secular. After 20 years, this material that has been used once as a pillar and subsequently as a *torii* gate is then dismantled and used as another renewed *torii* gate. The same process happens to other parts that were used for the main shrine structure, such as using the materials for Ujibashi Bridge which divides the shrine territory and the external area, therefore dividing the sacred and non-sacred spaces.[295]

This recycling process creates another interesting aspect of the Japanese reconstruction exercise. By creating *torii* gates and other pieces of Shinto architecture using the pre-used wooden material, in theory they cannot use new material for the new structures which are made every 20 years. This act demonstrates the Ise shrine and the Imperial household's strong will to create a hierarchical system among those related to the Ise shrine. Through the act of copying and the unique aspects of the concept as used at the shrine, the case of Ise also demonstrates the political aspect of copying the architecture. The most interesting part of this political phenomenon is that the main shrine is always in the centre of every act: it is where everything starts and ends. It can be compared to throwing a stone at a pond which creates ripples that spread across water.

The key point here is that, unlike with stone-based architecture as can be seen in the West, building materials are recycled not through economic and practical necessity, but rather through a desire to maintain a sense of the history and spiritual significance of the original building. That is to say, a material or the parts that were once used in a structure could possess the memory and the history of the formerly dismantled one and transfer them to a new structure. When someone stands in front of the religious architecture having been informed about the material's former use, they could use their own experience and memory of the particular religious architecture in which the material was originally used. In this sense, that knowledge could leap the sense of time and history with the help of imagination. If this were the case, then it is possible to state that a person can attribute meaning to the history of the religious building by knowing what the materials were used for in the first place. However, this is not the end of the thinking process. An observer could then think that even the architecture which was primarily built is not the ultimate original, but just one of the renewed

[295]Utsuno Kanehiko, 2009. 'Iseno sengū to gozōekoji – miyazukuri to hitozukuri' In *Konkurīto kōgaku vol.47, nr.5*. Tokyo: Nihon Konkurīto Kōgakkai, p.82-83

and copied architectures. This moment is the time when a person sees the endless cycle of redistribution of materials. The fragments are, all at the same time, the key to feeling the entirety of the cycle.

And coming back to the *shikinen sengū,* the first appearance of *shikinen sengū* can be observed both in 690 and 692 in Ise.[296] This practice was believed to be repeatedly conducted, but due to political disturbances largely caused by war in the 15th century, the practice stopped as early as 1444 and did not restart for more than 120 years. One of the largest reasons for the revival of this ritual was a donation made by both Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the tenth month of 1585. As Horikawa states, *kanjin hijiri*, fund-raising monks, also played an important role in the donation gathering.[297]

Ieyasu also supplied money when he was asked to help in conducting the *shikinen sengū* in 1608. In the 2nd month of 1609 he decided to provide money, however this time (unlike in the cases of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi) it was not a donation but rather in exchange for the control of the reconstruction process by the shogunate. This proves the Tokugawa shogunate's intention to place religious institutes within their own political sphere.

What is important is that this revival was made possible by a large amount of donations made by newly emerged samurai clans, and not by old established samurai clans or the Imperial Court. Upon the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate, the Imperial Court was naturally involved in this renewal process. The court usually received orders for conducting this process from the shogunate.[298] In this relationship, shogunates give themselves superiority over the Imperial Court in making *shikinen sengū*, and this idea continued to exist throughout the Edo period.[299] The court still possessed a religious influence to some extent during this period, but their activity was fairly limited as the court were required to ask the shogunate's permission in sending messengers to religious institutions, including the Ise shine.[300]

[296]Horikawa Hidenori, 2009. 'Jingū shikinen sengū chūzetsuki no ichikōsatsu' In *Shūkyō kenkyū, vol.82, nr.4*. Tokyo: Nihon Shūkyō Gakkai, p.1250
[297]Ibid., p.1251
[298]Watanabe Osamu, 2008. 'Kinsei chōtei to jingū shikinen sengū' In *Kinsei no tennō chōtei kenkyū vol. 4.* Tokyo: Gakushūin Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, p.38
[299]Ibid., p.39-52
[300]Ibid., p.58-74

In the late Edo period, with the shogunate's declining authority and the increasing popularity of Ise shrine, people who conducted fundraising at Ise shrine increased their individual activities in order to ask for more donations.[301]

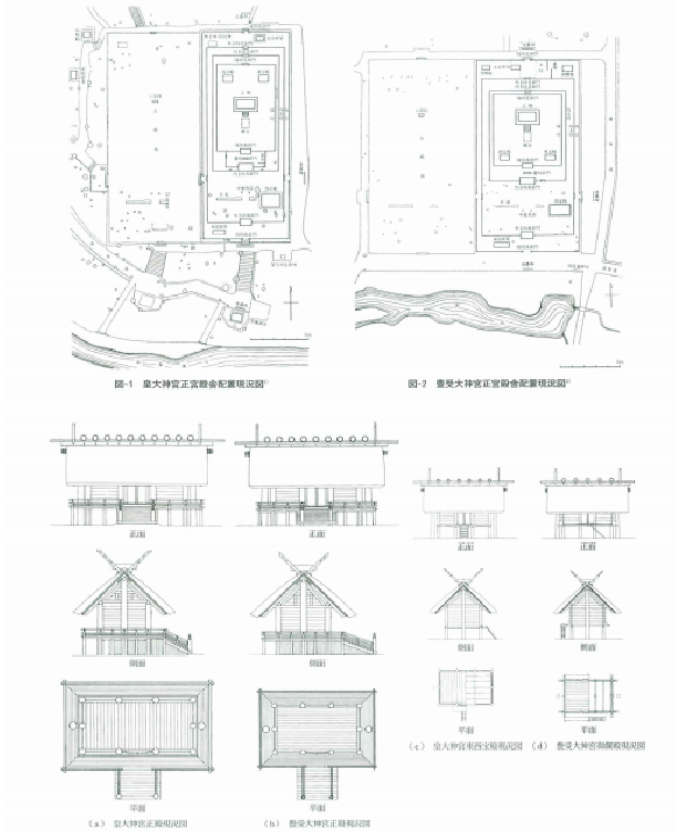

Fig. 11: Plans of two major Ise shrines depicting both Naikū and Geigū, indicating the shrines are built next to an empty land used for the next *Shikinen sengū* renewal

According to Coaldrake,[302] there are three main reasons for the periodic renewal of the Ise shrine. The first is architectural, by which he means that the wooden structure is so vulnerable and fragile in terms of the use of materials such as reed, straw and wood. The second is the religious reason by which the decayed architecture leads to the inevitable renewal of the building, and this is overlapped with the central aspect of Shinto: everything is placed into a cycle of birth, growth, death and rebirth. The concept of purification is essential to this renewal, as to keep one's body away from any type of defilement is an important idea in Shintoism. In this sense, the continuous reconstruction of shrines during this period was needed, not only

[301]Yahata Takatsune, 2014. 'Ise jingū no shikinen sengū to onshi' In *Shūkyō kenyū bessatsu vol.87*. Tokyo: Nihon Shūkyō Gakkai, p.278-279

[302]William H.Coaldrake, 1996. *Architecture and Authority in Japan*. London: Routledge, p.37-42.

because of the actual physical damage caused through time but also largely due to religious reasons. Lastly, there is a certain political motivation. According to Coaldrake:

> "Ise became part of the definition and revelation of imperial authority, and by its Shinto character, evidence of a determination to confer a stronger indigenous character on government after a period of powerful Chinese influence."[303]

2.3 Replicating Mountains: Three Cases

2.3.1 Mt. Hiei and Kan'ei-ji

One of the main areas of focus of this thesis is the copied architecture in the Tōeizan Kan'ei-ji temple complex at Shinobugaoka in the Ueno area of Edo, which was established during the rule of the fourth shogun Ietsuna. The name 'Ueno' comes from a daimyo called Tōdō Takatora 藤堂高虎 (1556-1630) who ruled the domain of Iga Ueno in present-day Mie prefecture. Tōdō Takatora donated his land in Edo which later became a part of Kan'ei-ji. It was undoubtedly an official temple complex at first, due to the close connection between the regime and the founder of the temple, Abbot Tenkai. Kan'ei-ji became an official Tokugawa clan temple after the funeral of the third shogun Iemitsu, which was conducted by the temple,[304] together with Zōjō-ji. It was constructed and maintained with enormous support from the shogunate. As already mentioned, from the beginning of its history, Kan'ei-ji was treated as the main Tendai sect temple in the Kantō region. The Tendai Buddhist sect originated in Kyoto when the capital was moved in 794. The Tendai sect became very powerful throughout the centuries; they expanded the numbers of their temples and followers, and they often played decisive roles in both political and cultural spheres. After the mid-17th century, the shogunate ranked the temple as the headquarters of the Tendai sect, making it politically superior to its previous base of operations, Mt. Hiei in Kyoto.[305]

[303] Ibid., p.41
[304] Urai Shōmyō, 2007. *Ueno Kan'ei-ji shōgunke no sōgi*. p.132-218
[305] Mitsui Akira, 2001. 'Kinsei jishakeidaito sono kenchikunikansuru kenkyū' In *Kenchikuzasshi kenchikunenpō*. Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, p.66-69

The most important sections of its establishment can be understood from the *Daiyūinden Gojikki*[306] which is an official record created by the shogunate. According to this document, Kan'ei-ji used Kyoto's religious architecture as a model. More precisely, when Emperor Kanmu 桓武天皇 (737-860) created Heian-kyō, the precursor to Kyoto in 794, Saichō, the founder of the Tendai Sect, established the sacred space of Mt. Hiei at the *kimon*, the 'demon's gate' guarding the inauspicious direction from which evil comes, of the Imperial Palace. The location was chosen in order to prevent the Imperial palace and its city from being 'stained' by religious impurities. Thus, this religious building protected the Imperial family so that the capital's fortune would not be harmed.

The idea of *kimon* developed from the philosophical concepts of *Ying Yang* and *Wu Xing*, which were established in China around the first century B.C. These theories came to Japan somewhere between the 5th and 6th centuries, along with the Chinese-style calendar. In Japan, the people who mastered these theories were initially called *onyōshi* or *onyōji*, and by the late-16th century they were known as *rekihakase* and *tenmonhakase.* There were few Imperial servants who established and dominated the knowledge of both *Ying Yang* and *Wu Xing*, as well as astronomy. The most important family in the time this thesis focuses on is the Tsuchimikado family, which will be talked about in detail below.

Mizuno Aki states that this understanding of *kimono* as being in the north-east direction existed in the Edo period.[307] She also gives a reason why this direction is important, saying that in the Chinese tradition, a clockwise direction is applied to the seasons, with winter understood to be the start (north) and continuing with spring (east). The position of north-east is important because of the understanding that winter symbolises 'darkness' and 'cold' and that spring is the start of something new. This all comes together to strongly imply that this direction is a crucial division between these drastic changes.[308] She also mentions that, in China, historic capitals were all geographically located on a latitude where north-east is the main direction, which is where the sun rises at the summer solstice. North-east is traditionally connected with the first month of the New Year. In order to protect themselves and to prevent

[306]Daiyūindono Gojikki. In Kuroita, K. ed., 1964-1966.*Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikei, Vol. 39*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan

[307]Mizuno Aki, 2009. 'Tōhoku kimon to higashi ajia teki kūkan kōsei: jikan wo kūkan ni haisu' In *Gakujutsu kōen kōgaishū f-1*. Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, p.767-768

[308] Ibid.

evil spirits from coming, people placed special amulets at the gate of their home so that the household would be safe for the coming year. This goes some way to explaining why both China and Japan considered this direction as a 'demon's gate'. By applying this concept of *kimon* to the Imperial Palace in Kyoto through Mt. Hiei, the equivalent in Edo to Edo castle could be Kanda shrine, Sensō-ji and Kan'ei-ji. Although three major religious institutions that existed in the first half of the 17th century looked to the north-east of Edo castle, only one of them can truly be considered a 'copy' of Mt. Hiei.

Kan'ei-ji imitated this style, which means that since one of the few hills of Shinobugaoka[309] is also located at the *kimon* to the Edo castle where the shogun lives, this temple complex functions as a form of religious protection for the shogunate.[310] The scholar Tamamuro also supports this idea by stating that Abbot Tenkai constructed Tōeizan Kan'ei-ji as an imitation of the Mt. Hiei structures in east Kyoto.[311] In fact, the name of this temple complex literally means 'Eastern Mt. Hiei Kan'ei-ji temple'; the word 'Kan'ei' came from the Japanese calendar name which indicates the time that the temple was founded. The temples built one after another are an imitation of Enryaku-ji. In this way, the shogunate most likely seemed to intend not only the creation of a place which equals mount Hiei and its Tendai temple, but also to claim that those original sites in Kyoto could be subjects of copying.

The *Daiyūinden Gojikki* states that "upon the entreaty made by Abbot Tenkai to Iemitsu, Tenkai was granted the land of Shinobugaoka,"[312] and Iemitsu ordered Tenkai to establish a large temple. This strongly resembles the similar story of a ruler giving his own territory for his own city in order to make a religious institution to protect the city in the 8th century. When Emperor Kanmu settled at Heian-kyō, the great Buddhist master Saichō 伝教大師最澄 (767-822) established the sacred ground of Mt. Hiei located at the *kimon* to the Kō-jō, in order to protect the Imperial capital. More than a thousand years of worshipping and conducting rituals for the longevity of the Imperial household was finally coming to fruition. Since the 8th century, following and copying the previous example, it was natural that Shinobugaoka became a *kimon* to Edo. That location and its religious benefit was not

[309]Also known as Shinobunooka
[310]According to Miyamoto Kenji (Miyamoto Kenji, 1996. *Edo no Toshi Keikaku, chapter 3.*) Kan'ei-ji was one of the seven temples that was built because of this kimon concept in Edo, in order to wish the national security and for the prosperity of fortune in case of war.
[311]Tamamuro Fumio, 2004. *Seikai no dōsha Tenkai Sūden*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p.58-60
[312]*Daiyūinden Gojikki*, 11th month in 1625

considered as inferior to that of Mt. Hiei. "The Tendai sect went on to run seven large Buddhist temples to pray for the safety of the nation and military fortune".[313]

The way the record is written is significant in itself when understanding the replication of the sacred space in Edo. As such, a closer analysis of the direct quote is required to make more sense of the situation. This description reveals why exactly Kan'ei-ji had to be built. Both Tenkai and Iemitsu aimed to make Edo equivalent 'Heian-jō', meaning Kyoto. Following the description, Tenkai places himself as an equivalent of the Tendai sect founder Saichō, and Iemitsu in the description projects himself almost as a re-incarnation of Emperor Kanmu. By analysing these actions, it is simpler to understand that Tenkai and Iemitsu saw themselves as powerful and even divine enough to make these strong statements. The sacred ground needed to be planned and built by Tenkai into the area then known as Shinobugaoka, which had an equal value to Mt. Hiei. The appearance of the word '*Kō-jō*' '皇城' in the direct quote is spelled the same, however the first '*Kō-jō*' means 'royal' or 'imperial' castle or town and the second one is the word 'Edo's' 'e', '江'. This most likely is a deliberate choice of words, in order to imply in writing that these two places have an equal value. This strongly suggests that Tenkai and Iemitsu knew exactly what they were doing, and the reason behind establishing these religious institutes was to raise the status of Edo as an equivalent of Kyoto. It also had a political aim: raising Iemitsu's status to the level of emperor. These two reasons demonstrate the Tokugawa shogunate's intention of creating a new capital of Japan, which Iemitsu's father, grandfather, Hideyoshi, Nobunaga and the Kamakura shogunate could not have even possibly imagined.

The significance of the establishment of Kan'ei-ji by both Tenkai and the Tokugawa shogunate is not only about building a temple into a location of *kimon*. When only considering the concept of *kimon*, the Tokugawa shogunate could have used both the Kanda shrine and Sensō-ji as the protection for Edo castle and its city. Both the Kanda shrine and Sensō-ji existed before Tokugawa entered Edo, and they had already gained popularity amongst the people. The very reason why Kan'ei-ji was built came from the episode introduced in the direct quote above. The temple needed to be built from nothing and by a religiously prominent figure. It was a statement more than a religious requirement. The thought that Sensō-ji in this context was not suitable to create a narrative which made the Tokugawa shogunate as legitimate as the

[313] Ibid.

Imperial household is easier to understand. It is also important to mention that Sensō-ji is a Tendai sect temple and, religiously speaking, could be placed as almost an equal to Mt. Hiei. Such a move would have simplified the whole process considerably. However, the main worshipped figure at Sensō-ji is a *shō kannon* which was founded by fishermen in the 17th century. This is not fitting for a temple which prays for national protection and the prosperity of military fortune. In the case of the Kanda shrine, it was situated directly on the line from north-east from the Edo castle, and for this reason held suitability even though it enshrines the deified figure of Taira no Masakado who rebelled against the Imperial Court in the mid-10th century. Taira no Masakado was killed by the Imperial Court, therefore it would have been inappropriate for the Tokugawa shogunate to make it as the protection for *kimon.* In this way, several existing locations were quickly ruled out. A new construction became the only option.

The presence of Tenkai (1536-1643) was one of the important influencing factors in Edo city planning, as he served under the Tokugawa family for many years, and played a role as a political and religious advisor to them. This section will examine how Tenkai could have played such a vital role in influencing the decision makers of Edo city planning.

Tenkai was an important abbot of the Tendai sect, who served as the religious 'brains' for three generations of Tokugawa shoguns; from Ieyasu through to Iemitsu. According to the record entitled *Tōeizan kaisan jigen daishi engi,*[314] which is a biography of Tenkai written by his pupil, a monk named Inkai 胤海, Tenkai was born in Aizu Takada in Mutsu. The description states that he was a member of the samurai clan Ashina, however the same record also states that Tenkai was reluctant to discuss his background or even his name before he became a monk. One of the earliest records stating his name could be found in 1608. He was not named Tenkai at this time but was called Hiei-zan Nankōbō.[315] We know this Hiei-zan Nankōbō was Tenkai by following the appearances of the name Nankōbō across different records. From this title, it is clear that he belonged to Mt. Hiei at that time, and Nankōbō indicates his Tendai monastery inside Mt. Hiei.

The statement that Tenkai lived and studied at Mt. Hiei can also be supported by research[316] conducted by Miyamoto. There are various historical documents which state when

[314] Inkai, 1680. Tōeizan kaisan jigen daishi engiIn *Ryōdaishi denki vol. 5.*
[315] *Tōdaiki*, the 11th day of the 10th month 1608
[316] Miyamoto Kenji, 1996.*Edo no toshikeikaku – kenchikuka shūdan to shūkyō dezain*.p.70-71

Ieyasu met Tenkai, such as the *Tōshō-gū Gojikki Furoku* which states that it was in 1610. Miyamoto, on the other hand, introduces a diary of *Tenshō Nikki* in his research stating that they met in 1590.[317] As far as can be confirmed by the documentation available, Tenkai appeared in 1611 in a record of *SunpuKi*[318] where it says that Sanmon Nankōbō met Gozen. Gozen, here, indicates Ieyasu. In the following year, Ieyasu donated 300 *koku* to Tenkai stating that, since this Tendai bishop[319] is a masterful Tendai scholar, this man should be in charge of Tendai education in the Kantō region.[320] It is not clear what exactly Tenkai did when he was at Mt. Hiei, although as his status was raised to *tandai* of Mt. Hiei in 1608,[321] *Tandai* being a senior in the ranking system, he could have been involved in restoration projects of Mt. Hiei and possibly the Hiyoshi shrine which were ordered by Hideyoshi. At that point, he was no longer living in Mt. Hiei, but resided in a temple called Muryōju-ji in Kawagoe. In 1613, Ieyasu issued a law called *Kantō Tendaishū Shohatto* placing Muryōju-ji, which was then known as Kita-in, as the headquarters of Tendai Buddhism in the Kantō region.

Ieyasu frequently met with Tenkai and they spent hours together on several occasions.[322] Tenkai's frequent meetings with the shogun continued under the reign of both Hidetada and Iemitsu. According to the *Tokugawa Jikki,* Tenkai not only discussed religious issues with Ieyasu, but he was also asked to pray for the shogun and his direct relatives' health. These topics were already part of *naishō*, a private route to communicate with the shogun through close associates. This indicates that Tenkai had become quite an influential figure. For example, in 1613, when Tenkai met Ieyasu, he asked Ieyasu to give Sensō-ji in Edo a shogunal charter.[323] This is a symbol of the trust and importance placed in Tenkai's role. In the same year, he received the title of head monk of Mt. Nikkō. When the famous bell at Hōkō-ji became a serious political issue that decided the fate of the Toyotomi clan in 1614, Tenkai also played an important role where he together with Sūden acted on the side of Tokugawa. Upon Ieyasu's death Tenkai, unlike many other influential figures of the time, increased his political influence.

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[317] Ibid., p.72
[318] *SunpuKi*, the 1st day of the 11th month 1611
[319] *Sōjō*
[320] Gotō Shōzaburō, *SunpuKi*, the 19th day of the 4th month 1612
[321] Miyamoto Kenji, 1996.*Edo no toshikeikaku – kenchikuka shūdan to shūkyō dezain*, p.76-78
[322] Tokugawa Jikki. Compiled by Narushima, M. In Kuroita, K. ed., 1964-1966. *Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikei, Vols. 38-47*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan
[323] Ishin Sūden (1966) *Honkōkokushi nikki*. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai,18th day of the 7th month 1613

Tenkai was one of three priests serving Ieyasu; the other two priests were Sūden and Bonshun. Immediately after the funeral service of Ieyasu at Mt. Kunō, the three priests came into conflict over the *kaimyō* (Buddhist name) for Ieyasu's deified spirit. This is a famous dispute of Shingō. Bonshun, who was the head of Toyokuni shrine together with Sūden, supported the idea of naming Ieyasu's deified spirit as *Tōshō Daimyōjin*. Tenkai, on the other hand, opposed to this idea because it overlapped with the name given to the deified Hideyoshi. As will be mentioned in the chapter discussing Daibutsu, this deified Hideyoshi was removed by Ieyasu in 1615. As a result, Tenkai's suggestion of naming Ieyasu's spirit for a Shinto god called *Tōshō Daigongen* triumphed. It is said that this conflict began during Ieyasu's life. According to *Tokugawa Jikki*[324], in 1616 Tenkai talked to Ieyasu when he was teaching the *Sannō ichijitsu* theory (a doctrine of syncretism between Tendai Buddhism and Shinto), they agreed that Ieyasu should be titled *Daigongen*. However, this statement cannot be confirmed in texts by other authors, therefore a debate about the authenticity of this statement exists. It has been suggested that the idea was Tenkai's and that he intended to increase his influence and power over the shogunate through Ieyasu's death. The movement of Ieyasu's body from Mt. Kunō to Mt. Nikkō was led by Tenkai, and Takafuji uses the record of Karasuma Mitsuhiro to describe the role Tenkai played in this activity.[325]

In 1624, Tenkai once again displayed his influence over the shogunate. He wrote that, since Ieyasu had converted to the Tendai Sect, it was important for Hidetada, the second shogun, to construct a temple north-east of Edo Castle which would provide a new, quiet area for religious practice.[326] In the following year, 1625, the construction of Kan'ei-ji started, which will be discussed in detail in the following section. There, upon the completion of Kan'ei-ji Tenkai became head priest and the headquarters of the Kantō Tendai sect moved from Kita-in to Kan'ei-ji. Tenkai's next attempt at influencing the shogunate can be observed in the expansion of the shrine at Nikkō to an imperial mausoleum. Iemitsu might have wished to apotheosize himself, and this wish might have been part of the reason for the expansion of Nikkō. However, what is more important here is Tenkai's influence: his prominent hand in the expansion of Nikkō provided the shogunate with an ideology intended to legitimise their rise

[324] *Tokugawa Jikki*, the 3rd day of the 5th month
[325] Takafuji Harutoshi, 2004. 'Tōshōgū shinkō no hirogari' In Tamamuro Fumio (ed.) *Seikai no dōsha Tenkai Sūden*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p.85-86
[326] *Tokugawa Jikki*

to power. By doing this, he changed the status of Ieyasu to a deified figure called *Tōshō Daigongen*.

After the completion of Nikkō Tōshō-gū and its opening ritual to enshrine Ieyasu as *Tōshō Daigongen*, Tenkai's political presence seemed to increase further. For example, in 1632 Tenkai sent a letter to Konchiin Sūden suggesting how to conduct the investiture of monks in different times.[327] From this, we can observe that Tenkai had obtained the power to appoint monks within the Tendai sect. He also possessed influence over other religious sects. For example, Tenkai sent a letter to the head of Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto asking them to send their worshipped figure to his Kiyomizu-dō. This act and the significance will be further explained in the following chapter. He also had a close connection with the Imperial court. In 1619, in a letter to Saiin of Sanzen-in Kyoto, Tenkai states that he met the retired Emperor Go-Yōzei 後陽成天皇 (1571-1617), and that he talked to Nijō Akizane 二条昭実 (1556-1619), who was the highest ranked Imperial Court member of the time. The letter continues to explain that daimyo Nagashima Katsushige was informed of this situation, and Tenkai assured him that if a problem occurred he would deal with the shogun personally.[328]

Tsuji Zennosuke[329] states that although Tenkai had political aspirations, he did not lose sight of religious motivations. There is evidence that he tried to protect people who committed crimes as well.[330] Even so, looking at his activities it is clear that Tenkai was not only acting as a religious practitioner, but also as someone heavily committed to politics through the channel of religion. He even influenced the decisions of shoguns, daimyo and the Imperial court. This is particularly different from the case of Konchiin Sūden, who was in charge of the registry side of policy-making for temples and shrines in the early Edo period. While Konchiin Sūden was mostly involved as a mediator and in interceding disputes between religious institutions, Tenkai on the other hand was beyond the religious boundaries of the sectarian field. In this regard, Tenkai could be understood as not a monk who served the Tokugawa shogunate in religious matters, but as a religious figure who helped to construct Tokugawa

[327] *Honkō kokushi nikki,* 2nd day of the 9th month 1632
[328] Udaka Yoshiaki and Nakagawa Jinki (eds.) *Nankōbō Tenkai hakkyū monjo shū*, 7th day of the 3rd month 1619
[329] Tsuji Zennosuke, 1952. *Nihon bukkyōshi kinsei hen vol.2*. Section 3, Nankōbō Tenkai. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten
[330] Ibid.

shogunate's hegemony with his new, grand ideas. One of the most important ideas that materialised was to the construction Tōeizan Kan'ei-ji in Edo.

When Iemitsu became ill, he mainly resided in Ōoku, a large section built within the Edo castle where only female figures who served to shoguns were residing, including the shogunal mother, wives and female servants. Therefore, *rōjū* (literally 'elder'), who made crucial decisions on policy-making and served as the highest ranking shogunate's host, could not meet and discuss political issues with Iemitsu. When situations such as this occurred, attendants who served the shogun personally and female figures at Ōoku inevitably increased their own political influence as people who transmitted the shoguns will.

These attendants who were close to the shogun were not necessarily limited to the samurai class. Kumakura Isao[331] introduces people in different professions who could be directly seen by the shogun in the early Edo period. The example used is the New Year's ceremony in 1616, where Hidetada saw daimyo and other samurai together with doctors, *dōbō*, monks, performance artists, merchants, painters, poets, craftsmen, Confucian scholars, monks, chess players, astrologists, falconers and tea masters. He points out that those non-samurai, especially Confucian scholars and monks, were not serving purely for a religious purpose. Instead, they played a role as attendants who held a political meaning to the shogun. In the reign of Hidetada these were institutionalised as *Otogishū*.[332]

The systematic way of delivering the orders and receiving requests from and to the shogun were completed as a system known as *rōjū seido*. For example, from the time of Iemitsu four or five very highly ranked samurai were designated as *rōjū* and each *rōjū* discussed, decided and oversaw the important administrative matters of the shogunate. *Rōjū* could also represent the shogun to other people. As a by-product of this, an unofficial channel through which to know the shogun's personal view on matters and issues was developed. It was created by involving the female figures at Ōoku and close attendants. This official route was called *omote-muki*, and the unofficial method is known as *naishō*.[333] Takagi uses an example of this *naishō* which occurred in 1650.[334] When Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 (1609-1682), a daimyo

[331]Kumakura Isao, 1988. *Kane bunka no kenkyū*, p.53-58
[332]Takagi Shōsaku, 1999. *Edo bakufu no seido to dentatsu monjo.* Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, p.56
[333]Ibid., p.78-79
[334]Ibid., p.79-80

at Bizen, left Edo, Iemitsu sent his close attendant Nakane Masamori 中根正盛 (1588-1666) to carry a message. He left the message – not in writing, but verbally – that Ikeda should not hesitate to give advice to Iemitsu when he noticed anything. Ikeda Mitsumasa's diary records this by using the words: "both *naishō* 内証 or as in *omotemuki* 表向".[335] This example suggests that Iemitsu himself preferred to use this unofficial route of *naishō* in order to gain access to information. When considering how Iemitsu was involved in the actual decision making of selecting specific religious architecture which were then replicated in Edo, the existence of this type of communication cannot be ignored, because it explains why there are so few official documents available today which indicate the shogun's direct involvement in the process of making architectural replications.

Naishō was used by Tenkai as well, and this can be seen in letters exchanged between Tenkai and his attendants.[336] Nakane Masamori, who was a close attendant to Iemitsu, sent letters to Tenkai in order to inform him of Iemitsu's thoughts. These were mostly requests for prayers and predictions for the year, asking him to pray in order to cure Iemitsu's bad dreams, making a religious tablet to protect Iemitsu from lightning, and asking him to arrange a painter to make portraits of Ieyasu. These personal requests relating to Iemitsu were also made by females who belonged to the *Ōoku*. Takagi uses a letter which was sent from Eishōin 英勝院 (1587-1642), who was a high-ranked *Ōoku* female figure.[337] She asked Tenkai to pray for the safe delivery of Iemitsu's child. In the letter, she told Tenkai the real name of Raku, who was pregnant at that time, and the real date of her birth. This information was strictly secret, because it was believed by that this information could be used to cast a spell or do other harm to the wife of Iemitsu. Regarding the content of this letter, Takagi states that: "this request for prayers and giving such important information to Tenkai cannot be thought to be coming from the personal request of Eishōin, but has to be understood as it was from a person who is responsible at the *Ōoku* to look after women in the shogun's family".[338] This exchange of confidential messages using the *naishō* system between attendants and Tenkai suggests that Iemitsu relied on Tenkai on a very personal level for his religious practice.

[335]Ibid., p.80
[336]These letters ar cited on *Jigen daishi zeishi,* 1976. Kokushokankokai
[337]Takagi Shōsaku, 1999. *Edo bakufu no seido to dentatsu monjo,* p.110-113
[338]Ibid., p.112

Iemitsu, who was only 13 at the time of Ieyasu's death, strongly trusted Tenkai. Urai introduces a letter sent by Iemitsu to Tenkai through the *naishō* route, when Tenkai was unwell, where Iemitsu complains about Tenkai's selfishness and how he disregards Iemitsu's advice even when Iemitsu considers Tenkai in the same way he considered *Gongensama*, meaning Ieyasu.[339] This near worship-like trust of Tenkai can also be seen in the existence of Iemitsu's small bag of amulets, which is now at Mt. Nikkō, in which he placed three talismans. In the middle, the inscription is *Tōshō Daigongen.* On the left, it says Minamoto no Iemitsu, and on the right, it shows *Jigen Daishi*, meaning Tenkai.[340]

Suruga Miyage[341] records that Tenkai said that Ieyasu understood the mutability of this world and that Hidetada was gentle. This heavily implies that Tenkai thought it was easy to talk to them. However, in the case of the shogun Iemitsu, his opinion was that the leader was both smart and disputatious: 'talking to him makes me feel ill at ease'.

Daidōji Yūsan's books talk about the time of Ieyasu and his descendants. Daidōji was born in 1639 and was not daimyo, but he served the Matsudaira clan as a military strategist. Some caution is suggested when reading his books. While initially the relationship between the works and the period appears to be weaker due to the fact that he wasn't directly involved, the text suggests how educated samurai perceived the history of the early-17th century.[342] In vol.6 he discusses how Kan'ei-ji was established, and he states that the construction should be the same as the number of *Bō* - lodges for Buddhist priests. It was decreed that this should follow the number at Sensō-ji temple, therefore there were 36 *Bō* established. Doi Toshikatsu 土井勝利 (1573-1644), who was in charge of the site's construction, said that *Tōeizan* was made for the purpose of praying for the safety of the world. It was built through the ideas of the shogun and the whole shogunate worked for it, and as such it was inappropriate that other daimyo who benefitted from the virtue of the Tokugawa family should have any objections. In the book, he also mentions that Ieyasu's portrait was placed in all of these 36 *Bō*, but there were none of those portraits placed in Zōjō-ji temple. This is why the Kan'ei-ji conducted a

[339]Urai Shōmyō, 'Shōgun no haka – Kan`ei-ji to zōjō-ji' In Tamamuro Fumio, *Seikai no dōsha Tenkai Sūden*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p.103-104
[340] Ibid., p.105
[341]Daidōji Yūsan, c. 1720. *Suruga Miyage vol.3.* Tokyo: Kondō Kappansho
[342]Daidōji Yūsan, c. 1727. *Ochiboshū vol.6*

ritual to pray for the safety of the world, as the temple was also established for praying for the longevity of military fortune for the Tokugawa family.

In the following section, Daidōji explains how Shinobazu no Ike developed. He writes that, when Mitsunoya Katsutaka[343] visited Tenkai he said: "*Tōeizan* came from Mt. Hiei, fortunately we happened to have Shinobazu no Ike, so how about making this pond like Biwako lake by building a small island like Chikubu-shima in the Biwako lake and establishing Benten-dō?" Tenkai answered: "That's exactly what I'm hoping to do, but people say the pond is so deep that it's difficult to build an island in it." Mitsunoya replied: "Even if it's deep it's easy to build a small island. Fortunately, I have asked to look after Asakusa River and called men from my domain so that I will let you use my men after the work". When Tenkai was asked to connect this island by land, he answered: "It shouldn't be connected; people should use ships like they do at Chikubu-shima".

There were four laws issued to the Tendai sect before 1615, and these were brought into effect in 1608, 1609, 1613 and 1614. The first two laws could be understood as one stage, because these laws were applied only to specific Buddhist temples. The laws encouraged these temples to forbid their monks to sell and buy their land, and also to disapprove of large groups of people making petitions.[344] This suggests that at that point Mt. Hiei still held the power it had in the previous centuries to influence monks to make petitions against authority. In addition, the Tokugawa shogunate was afraid of a potential uprising caused by the Tendai monks at Mt. Hiei. No laws of this kind had been issued to the rest of the Tendai sect temples, which means that the Tokugawa's authority was not yet influential enough. The following two laws in 1613 and 1614 were issued for the Tendai temples in Kantō regions. The laws issued in 1613 were particularly important, because the one issued in the 2nd month of 1613 was signed by Ieyasu and a further law issued in the 8th month of the same year is signed by his son Hidetada. Because they were signed directly by the heads of the Tokugawa clan, this demonstrated the shogunates strong will that the Tokugawa clan possessed political power over the Tendai sects. In particular, the law signed by Hidetada states that Kita-in was to become the headquarters of the Tendai temples in the Kantō region. This is significant

[343] A daimyo born in 1597 and died in 1664

[344] *Hiei-zan hatto nana kajō,* 8th month of the year 1608 In Nara Bunkazai Kenkyūjyo (ed.) 2013 *Ninna-ji Shiryō*; Kyoto: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan

considering that Tenkai, who was then the head of the Kita-in temple, changed the name of his temple to Tōeizan Kita-in in 1612. This marks the first time that the word Tōeizan appeared, and was just one year before Hidetada issued the law. The appearance of the word is a clear indication of both Tenkai and the Tokugawa shogunate's desire to establish something in Edo equivalent to one of the biggest religious spaces in Kyoto, Mt. Hiei. The close relationship between Tenkai and the Tokugawa shogunate and their shared desire to establish an eastern Mt. Hiei is supported in a record called *Sunpu Ki*.[345] On the 19th day of the 4th month of 1613, Tenkai visited Sunpu where he met Ieyasu. Tenkai told him that he would be heading to Bushū Senba – meaning Kita-in, at what is present-day Kawagoe in Saitama prefecture. Ieyasu then gave Tenkai money, clothes and a 300 koku donation of land to the temple, and stated that the abbot would become a scholar of Tendai sect in Kantō region.[346]

Although the Tokugawa shogunate's official record describes the situation surrounding the 'demon's gate', it is not very clear how the Tsuchimikado family was involved in this decision-making process. Tsuchimikado Hisanga, who used to serve both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi and was later expelled by Hideyoshi in 1595, returned to Kyoto in 1600 by the Imperial order and served Ieyasu. He also served both Hidetada and Iemitsu, and conducted the ritual of *tensō chifu sai* together with his son Yasushige. This ritual was only conducted upon the enthronement of the new ruler[347] and was approved by the shogunate. From these facts, it is natural to assume that Tsuchimikado also gave advice and directions to the shogunate, and that the Tsuchimikado family later controlled the whole *Ying Yang* practice.[348] However, we do not have direct evidence of this.

In 1625, the *hondō* (main temple) of Kan'ei-ji was built, and several other *dō*'s (halls) were built afterwards. Tōshō-gū, Jōgyō-dō, Hokke-dō, Rinzō, Tahou-tō and Niō-mon were completed in 1627, Shaka-dō was completed in 1630, Gojū no tō (five-story pagoda), Shōrō (bell-tower), a Daibutsu (Great Buddha), Giondō and Kiyomizu-Kannon-dō were completed in 1631, and Keiji-dō, Sannō-sha and Honji-dō were completed in 1634. Tōshō-gū was originally built as a small shrine to worship the deified Ieyasu, and was erected by Tōdō Takatora who was one of the three major land donors of the Kan'ei-ji. In 1626 Tenkai moved

[345] Gotō Shōzaburo, *Sunpu Ki,* 4th month of the year 1613
[346] Ibid.
[347] *Yasushige kyōki*, 19th day of the 7th month 1623
[348] Kimura Junko, 2012. *Muromachi jidai no onmyōdō to jiin shakai*. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, p.14

the Tōshō-gū, not the small shrine which is already enshrined by Takatora, but the one located inside the Edo castle, into his temple compound. This Tōshō-gū was renewed, with construction work commencing in the 11th month of 1634 and being completed in 1636. By that point, Sensō-ji already had Tōshō-sha within their territory. However, in 1642 Sensō-ji and Tōshō-sha both burned down. Sensō-ji was rebuilt in 1649. Although the burned down Tōshō-sha was not rebuilt by that point. This indicates the decline of the religious and political power possessed by Sensō-ji over these years, and at the same time indicates the increase of the official characteristics and reputation of Kan'ei-ji, which was backed up by the shogunate.[349]

During the same period, the island of Benzaiten was developed in Shinobazu no Ike, and Benten-dō was built there. This was supported by another daimyo Hori Naoyori 堀直寄 (1577-1639), who was another of the three major land donors of Kan'ei-ji who will be more closely examined in the following section on the Daibutsu.

Kan'ei-ji was completely different from other Edo temples closely connected to the Tokugawa shogunate, such as Sensō-ji and Zōjō-ji. Firstly, there is Kan'ei-ji's *honzon*, the principal object, *Yakushi Nyorai* in Konpon Chūdō. This *honzon* was believed to be the *honjibutsu* (the original Buddhist identity of a Shinto deity, *kami*) of Tokugawa Ieyasu's *kami*, *Tōshō Daigongen*.[350] The structure of the temple is also different: while the structure of both Sensō-ji and Zōjō-ji lead people directly to the main hall, in the case of Kan'ei-ji, many other halls where different sub-*honzon* are located are placed around the Konpon Chūdō where *Yakushi Rurikō Nyorai* was worshipped as a *honzon*. In other words, while Sensō-ji and Zōjō-ji are rather singularly organised temple complexes, Kan'ei-ji has a multi-tiered structure.

Konpon Chūdō, the main hall of Kan'ei-ji, shared its name with Mt. Hiei's most important religious building, and was completed during the reign of the fifth shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (1646-1709) in 1697, on a scale larger than that of Mt. Hiei.[351] It is slightly mysterious why the completion of Konpon Chūdō was delayed for almost

[349] This tendency became apparent in 1685 when Sensō-ji was placed under the control of Kan`ei-ji
[350] According to the *Tōshōsha engi* made between 1639-1640, taken from Komatsu Shigemi and Kanzaki Mitsuharu, 1994. Zoku zoku nihon emaki taisei vol. 8, Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha
[351] Amaki Eiko and Hatano Jun, 2014. 'Tokugawa shōgunke no sōgi no tameno kenchiku: Kan`ei-ji Konpon Chūdō no hōe to sono hosetsu' In *Gakujutsu kōen gaiyōshū*. Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, p.37-38

70 years after the completion of the first buildings at Kan'ei-ji, since Konpon Chūdō was the most important architectural structure in Mt. Hiei. This might relate to the fact that this Konpon Chūdō was burned down in 1571 by Nobunaga. Interestingly, in 1634, upon a request made by Tenkai, Iemitsu restored Konpon Chūdō at Mt. Hiei. Work on the restoration was completed in 1641. This indicates that, by the time construction on Kan'ei-ji started, Konpon Chūdō did not exist at Mt. Hiei. The important focus for the Tokugawa shogunate when building Kan'ei-ji was not on creating an exact copy or a historically accurate representation of a building which burned down in Kyoto, but to build something that has the same value from the people's perspective.

Urai points out that the year of Kan'ei-ji's establishment can not be determined with complete certainty. His opinion is that construction began in 1624 and that Kan'ei-ji reached the stage of near completion in either 1628 or 1631. If 'completion' is assumed to be when the compound's main hall was completed, this has been recorded as late as the 9th month in 1698.[352]

The principle object of worship, *Yakushi Rurikō Nyorai*, the Medicine Buddha, which is said to be the work of Saichō, the founder of the Tendai sect, was moved from Ishizu-dera in Ōmi to Kan'ei-ji. This *Yakushi Rurikō Nyorai* also exists as the main figure of worship in Konpon Chūdō at Mt. Hiei, which is also said to be a statue carved by Saichō. It is important to note that many of the architectural influences and models used in Edo's religious buildings came from Kyoto, such as Gojū no Tō (five-story pagoda), Shōrō, a Great Buddha, Giondō and Kiyomizu-Kannon-dō, some of which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. In addition, these buildings were constructed at almost exactly the same time.

Yoshida Masataka and Katō Takashi states that Tenkai wished to welcome an emperor's child, in order to make himself chief priest of Kan'ei-ji and with the wish for his temple to control the whole religious world.[353] After a couple of years of the death of Tenkai, in 1654, his wish was posthumously fulfilled by making Shuchō 守澄法親王 (1634-1680), a son of the already retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo, the head of Mt. Nikkō and Kan'ei-ji. In the next year Shuchō travelled to Kyoto, and at that time the Imperial Court gave Shuchō the title

[352]Urai Shōmyō, 2007. *Ueno Kan'ei-ji shōgunke no sōgi*. p.30-31
[353] Yoshida Masataka and Katō Takashi (ed.) 2004.'Kan`ei-ji' In *Edo wo shiru jiten*. Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan, p.233

of *Tendai Zasu,* the chief priest of Enryaku-ji at Mt. Hiei. Therefore, he became the head of both Enryaku-ji and Kan'ei-ji as well as the head of Mt. Nikkō. Such an important role was not to be underestimated. Shuchō based himself in Kan'ei-ji thereafter, and this indicates the Tokugawa shogunate's initial plan – making their temple Kan'ei-ji in their territory equivalent to Mt. Hiei – was completed. Furthermore, with Tenkai's support placing Shuchō as the head of these temples further raised the status of Kan'ei-ji as an important temple compared to Mt. Hiei, since Shuchō usually resided at Kan'ei-ji. At the time when Shuchō became the head of the three most important mountains, the goal, which both Tokugawa shogunate and Tenkai set at the very beginning of the 17th century, was achieved. Kyoto in that sense was therefore 'recast' in the form of Edo. However, the reasoning behind copying these structures into a new city requires further investigation, and this is where paintings become useful as a way to analyse the situation.

2.3.2 Hiyoshi and Hie shrine

Hiyoshi Taisha, which enshrines the *kami* of Ōyama Kui, was believed to be the protection god of Mt. Hiei. Its festival was famous by the time a series of religious replications was made by the Tokugawa shogunate, which will be discussed later.

Tamamuro describes Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto as a religious theory based on the understanding of Shinto in the Tendai sect. He introduces the handscrolls of *Mana Engi* which were created in the Kan'ei period, and writes that Sannō Shinto is neither *honji suijaku* Shinto nor the Shinto theory taught by Yoshida Shinto, nor even Shingon Shinto. The scrolls also show that, the theory was not easy to understand even for those born into a family of Shinto priests, which goes some way to demonstrate that this is a form of Shinto which is only fully understood by the Tendai sect. Tamamuro continues that Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto places Sannō Gongen, who is known by a different name as Hiei Sannō, as the foundation of all Buddhist laws. Sannō Gongen is the centre of all gods and all gods are Sannō Gongen's alter ego.[354]

Through using this theory, Tenkai and the Tokugawa shogunate tried to deify Ieyasu. As previously mentioned, when Ieyasu died in 1616 he was given a deification title of *Tōshō*

[354]Sugawara Shinkai, 2004. Sannō ichijitsu Shinto to Tenkai In Tamamuro Fumio, *Seikai no dōsha Tenkai Sūden*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p.28-45

Daigongen instead of *Tōshō Myōjin*. This is not just because *Myōjin* was considered to be inappropriate because of Hideyoshi's apostasies process, but also because *Daigongen* was equally appropriate in the religious context of Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto. Tamamuro states that Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto is a Shinto theory created for worshipping Ieyasu as a *kami*. This theory also aimed to protect the prosperity of the Tokugawa clan, as well as secure peace in the world ruled by the Tokugawa shogunate.[355]

Examining Hiyoshi Taisha is also important when considering the replication of the sacred space in 17th century Japan. Hiyoshi Taisha consists of a shrine complex which dates back to as early as the 8th century.[356] The shrine worships two Shinto deities, Ōyama Kui and Ōnamuchi. The other deity, Ōnamuchi, is the same deity commonly known as the Shinto deity of Ōkuninushi. According to the Hiyoshi Taisha, this deity came to be worshipped through the process of *kanjō* from Ōmiwa shrine, which was a powerful Shinto shrine in Asuka, Nara at that time. When Saichō, the founder of the Tendai monks, established Mt. Hiei, these two gods were already believed to be protecting the mountain; therefore, he treated these Shinto gods as local protective deities. This treatment of non-Buddhist deities was also practiced at Mt. Tiantai in China, where Saichō studied the Tendai Buddhist theory, and it was not an unusual practice for that particular time. As the Tendai sect became more popular and the syncretism between Buddhism and Shinto increased in the medieval period, these two deities became known as *Sannō* or *Sannō Gongen*.[357] Hiyoshi Taisha, although mostly under the control of the Enryaku-ji at Mt. Hiei, conducted their rituals in a traditional fashion. The most famous ritual at Hiyoshi Taisha was Sannō Matsuri, the festival of Sannō, which appears to have been created as early as the 8th century.[358]

Details of those festivals before the 1570s are not very clear, since the whole temple complex was burned down by Oda Nobunaga in 1571. According to John Breen, a festival took place on different dates for different objects of worship. When Ōnamuchi was the subject of the ritual, the day was carefully selected as the day of Saru.[359] This possibly relates to the

[355] Ibid., p.37-39
[356] Kurano, K. ed. 1963.*Kojiki*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten
[357] Ikeda Yōhei, 2010. Sannō sansei jukaisetsu no keisei katei In Seiji keizai shigaku nr.5-6, p.31-55, Tokyo: Nihon seiji keizai shigaku kenkyūjo
[358] *Yōtenki*, 1223, p.590-593
[359] John Breen, 2009. Kindai sannō matsuri no genten – kampei taisha hiyoshi jinjashi no isseki In *Jinbun gakuhō nr.98*. Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyū jo,p.143-175

faith of the Taoist theory Kōshin. These are related because of both Saru and Shin, which means monkey. It was known that Hiyoshi Taisha held a close connection to monkeys, traditionally speaking. Monkeys in Japan were considered as *shinshi* or 'messengers of the gods'.[360] Other animals are also associated with specific shrines. For example, the rabbit is associated with Sumiyoshi Taisha and deer are associated with Kasuga Taisha. In the case of Hiyoshi Taisha, *Yōtenki* leaves a record that a deity appeared there in a shape of a monkey, and when Gautama Siddhārtha was worshiped at Mt. Hiei, monkeys quickly gathered at Hiyoshi Taisha.[361] It is important to remember that these are just stories and have no concrete factual-based grounds. However, what one can observe behind these stories - including the day when the festival took place at Hiyoshi Taisha - is the strong consideration of the monkey's importance at this sacred space. This trend of religious stories regarding monkeys continued to exist after the 16th century, seen through the story created in *Ehon Taikōki*. It states that Hideyoshi's mother, when wanting to have a child, went to Hiyoshi Taisha to pray for the pregnancy. As a result, when Hideyoshi was finally born he was named Hiyoshimaru.[362] At the end of the 18th century people knew that Hideyoshi was nicknamed Saru, meaning monkey, by Nobunaga. This is why it so strongly seemed that Hideyoshi was associated with Hiyoshi Taisha.

Historically it appears that Hideyoshi did not get involved in trying to stop the burning down of Mt. Hiei. However, in 1584 Hideyoshi approved the reconstruction of Mt. Hiei and provided funding for it, although it took a lot of time for Mt. Hiei and Hiyoshi Taisha to restore their own religious buildings and they needed further funding from Ieyasu. With Ieyasu's support and the official approval of the reconstruction of Hiyoshi Taisha advised by Tenkai, the Hiyoshi Taisha was restored in the beginning of the 1630s.

Naturally, the Tokugawa shogunate did not simply support Mt. Hiei for a religious purpose, but was motivated in order to raise their status by building religious architecture and worshipping the spirit of deified Ieyasu. The Hiyoshi Tōshō-gū enshrines both Tokugawa Ieyasu and the god of Hiyoshi. The building symbolises the Tokugawa shogunate's interest in placing the spirit of deified Ieyasu at the heart of Mt. Hiei, the most important religious location for the Tendai sect. The building was rebuilt in 1634 in the style of *gongen zukuri* a *"*style of

[360] Nakamura Teiri, 1989. *Dōbutsu tachi no ryoku*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō
[361] Ibid., p.42-60
[362] Takeuchi, K. 1797-1802. Ehon Taikōki In Hirotani, Y. 1925. *Ehon Taikōki*. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankō Kai

mausoleum architecture which reached maturity in the first half of the seventeenth century. The main building consists of a *haiden* (worship hall) at the front linked by an *ishinoma* (stone floored chamber) to the *honden* (main hall or inner sanctuary) at the rear*"*,[363] which is also called *ishinoma zukuri.* This architectural style is one of the earliest building styles to appear after the initial construction of Tōshō-gū at Mt. Kunō, which is mentioned previously in 1617. This is earlier than the reformed architectural structure of Tōshō-gū at Mt. Nikkō which was decided in 1634.

In the time between the construction of these two buildings, when the Tokugawa influenced the design of Hiyoshi Taisha by building the religious structure that worshipped their own clan leader, they also expanded the size of a shrine called Imahie-sha on the outskirts of Kyoto. Imahie-sha was established by the Emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河天皇 (1127-1192), using the process of *kanjō* from Hiyoshi Taisha in 1160. This was done at the site of one of the Tendai sect temples and the emperor's residence of Hōjū-ji, which was not far from Myōhō-in and Hōkō-ji. However, the temple deteriorated due to the Ōnin War in the 15th century. After the war, the Toyotomi clan built both Hōkō-ji and Toyokuni shrine, and therefore Imahie-sha remained insignificant. Even so, when the Tokugawa clan decided to apostate Hideyoshi, Tokugawa felt the need to block the passageway to the Toyokuni shrine. Therefore, the Tokugawa shogunate asked Emperor Go-Mizunoo to send an Imperial order to the head of the Myōhō-in to move the location of the Imahie-sha.[364] Because of this order, Imahie-sha blocked the passageway to the Toyokuni shrine in 1655. According to the Imahie Jingū,[365] the main worshipped deities were Emperor Go-Shirakawa, the Ōyama Kui and Ōnamuchi together with Tamayorihime. The name of Tamayorihime is also known as Konomoto, which shares the same Chinese characters as one of Hideyoshi's early surnames, literally meaning 'under a tree'. This suggests that, even though Imahiyoshi blocked the access to Toyokuni shrine, it still secretly placed the spirit of Hideyoshi under the name of a different *kami*.

The Hiyoshi Taisha is replicated in Edo in the form of Hiyoshi Sannō, which is now located at Nagata-chō. It was previously known by different names such as Sannō Jinja, Edo

[363]Coaldrake William H. 1996.*Architecture and Authority in Japan*. London: Routledge, p. XVI
[364] The official site of Ima hie jingū [Online] Available from: http://g-girl7.asia/hp/index.php?id=00020167 [Accessed: 04 July 2015]
[365] Ibid.

Sannō Daigongen, Hiyoshi Sannō Gongen-sha and Hiyoshi Sannō Jinja. The present site, which in this thesis will be called Hiyoshi Sannō, moved to its current location in 1659. It moved around its sacred site a few times prior to standing in this most recent location, which has a close connection to this religious site's history.

There are a few different narratives regarding the establishment of Hiyoshi Sannō. According to *Kōbun Ruishū,*[366] a reference book that states the National rules and regulations of Japan, the shrine came to Muryō-ji temple at Mt. Hoshino in the country of Musashi through the *kanjō* process, and this *kanjō* was conducted by a monk called Ennin 円仁 (794-864). Later, between 1469 and 1486, it was again moved to Edo castle by Ōta Dōkan 太田道灌 (1432-1486) as a form of protection for the castle. When Ieyasu entered Edo, he created a new shrine at Mt. Momiji, located within the Edo castle compound, which subsequently moved to the outside of the castle, and then to its present location. *Kōbun ruishū* also states that the shrine is also highly respected as *Ubusunagami*, which in English means the tutelary deity of Ieyasu's birthplace. The same document also mentions the letter of a Shinto priest who served for the Hiyoshi Sannō. It says that when Ōta Dōkan established this temple it was called Yamashiro no Kuni Atago Gun Hie no Yashiro Hiei-zan. This literally means 'the shrine of Hie in Mt. Hiei in the region of Atago in the country of Yamashiro'.[367] The Muryō-ji at Mt. Hoshino, which is mentioned in the record as being at present day Kita-in at Kawagoe, was established by the Tendai monk Ennin in 830. This was an order issued by Emperor Junna, and from that time this temple functioned as the headquarters of the Tendai sect in eastern countries now better understood as the Kantō region. As already mentioned, Kita-in was a temple where Tenkai became a head monk, and it remained the head of the Tendai sect temples of the Kantō region until the establishment of Kan'ei-ji in Edo. Other sources do however tell different stories on this point. For example, a document possessed by the Kumano shrine states that there was a shrine named Sannō no Miya in Edo[368] which suggests that the Sannō shrine already existed within the territory of Edo in the year 1362. The Imahie-sha also states that it was not the Hiyoshi Taisha that became the Hiyoshi Sannō, but Imahie-sha which moved to Kawagoe and later became present-day Hiyoshi Sannō by Ōta Dōkan. In these three cases, the Edo Hiyoshi Sannō was created merely as a replication for Hiyoshi Taisha by Tokugawa

[366] *Kōbun ruishū vol.59 nr.1*, 1882
[367] Ibid.
[368] Heibonsha chihō shiryō senta (ed.) 2002. *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei vol. 13 Tokyoto no shimei*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, p.146

Ieyasu when he first entered Edo. The official documents of the Tokugawa shogunate state that, when Ieyasu entered, he moved a shrine of Sannō from Bairinzaka to Mt. Momiji and donated five koku in 1591.[369] This is also written in *Ochiboshū*, which explains that Ieyasu asked his attendants to see whether the castle enshrined a god.[370] There were in fact two shrines, one which was a shrine of Kitano Tenjin[371] and a shrine of Hiyoshi Sannō. Ieyasu explained that, if there was no shrine protecting the castle, he intended to invite the god Sannō at Sakamoto through the *kanjō* process.[372] The Sannō at Sakamoto clearly indicates that this was meant to act as a replica of Hiyoshi Taisha at Mt. Hiei. It is also crucial that Ieyasu donated koku to this specific site. This happened not long after Nobunaga's burning down of Mt. Hiei, therefore there presumably were no major shrines left at the site of Hiyoshi Taisha in Kyoto. This shows how much Ieyasu, from the very beginning of establishment in Edo, was interested in having the most symbolic elements of Kyoto moved to his own territory. Hiyoshi Sannō moved from the inside of the castle to the western side of the castle in the beginning of the 17th century, and Hidetada, the second shogun, donated 100 koku to the shrine in 1617. According to the previously-cited letter, when Iemitsu was born and when changing the shogun, the most important clan members visited and paid their respects to Hiyoshi Sannō.[373] This turned into a family tradition over several generations. In 1635 Iemitsu went out on the terrace of the Edo castle and its tower and viewed Hiyoshi Sannō's festival procession entering the castle, and on the 17th day of the same month Iemitsu donated a further 500 koku to the shrine. The increasing popularity and power possessed by Hiyoshi Sannō, through the money donated by the Tokugawa clan, ensured that the shrine could conduct large religious festivals.[374] Unfortunately, Hie Sannō was burned down by the Great Fire of Meireki in 1657, and was therefore moved to the current location in 1659.

Having considered the fact that it is was most likely Ōta Dōkan who invited the spirit of Sannō from either Kawagoe region or the local Sannō shrine, we can continue to conclude that it was Ieyasu who paid great attention to the placement and worship of Hiyoshi Sannō within his castle compound. This happened even before Tenkai became the head monk at

[369] *Tokugawa Jikki, Tokugawa Ieyasu shuinjō*
[370] *Ochi boshū vol.1*
[371] The record states that because Ōta Dōkan who invited this shrine is a poet aswell he established the Kitano shrine
[372] *Ochi boshū vol.1*
[373] *Kōbun ruishū vol.59*
[374] *Tokugawa Jikki, Daiyūinden gojikki*

Muryō-ji temple, which later became Kita-in. This Hiyoshi Sannō was the focus of the Tokugawa shoguns' faith, and with the shogunate's support it expanded its scale and became an important sacred site in Edo. This process of expansion of the scale of the temple seems to parallel the reconstruction of the Hiyoshi Taisha in Kyoto.

2.3.3 Mt. Atago

Mt. Atago is another of the sacred sites that was moved from Kyoto to Edo in the 17th century. Together with Mt. Hiei and the copied versions of Tōeizan and Hie shrine at Edo, Mt. Atago has its origins in Kyoto. Mt. Atago is a mountain located at the north-west side of Kyoto. A peak altitude of more than 900 metres meant the mountain was a landmark that divided the country of Tanba from Kyoto. Mt. Atago's shrine can be dated back to as early as the second half of the 8th century. The name 'Atago' is surrounded by a number of different stories regarding its origin, and different Chinese characters can be used to create the word. The original Mt. Atago in Kyoto, in the words of Richard Cocks, is "made in forme lyke a devil, with a hoked nose and feete lyke a griffon, and riding upon a wild boare".[375] He also speaks of people who visit this pagoda, this shrine walked around its 'pagoda' three times, which could be the main building, saying prayers as they do so. Mt. Atago and its shrine are also known as Hakuun-ji and Mt. Hakuun as well as Otagi. The recognition of Atago came relatively early in the 8th century. As the syncretism between Buddhism and Shinto developed, Atago became a place for mountain ascetics or *shugenja*. Due to this religious development, Mt. Atago was also referred to as *Atago Gongen*. According to *Fusō Kyōkashi*,[376] which was published in the mid-17th century, Mt. Atago was put forward as a potential replication of Mt. Wutai of Tang, China.

The main worshipped figure at Mt. Atago is the Shinto deity called Kagutsuchi. Because this deity was born between the creations of Izanagi and Izanami, it became a somewhat mixed representation of Izanami as Shōgun Jizō in a Buddhist context. Shōgun Jizō is a form of the Buddhist deity Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva. The Shōgun Jizō's name is made up of the Chinese character representing 'victory' and 'military' or 'army'. As such, this Bodhisattva is commonly represented riding a horse and wearing armour. This imagery is also

[375] Michael Cooper (ed.) 1995. *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640,* p.303-304

[376] A guide book to introduce famous places in and around Kyoto

combined with the Bodhisattva's close association with fire. With so many connotations of force and power surrounding it, Mt. Atago gained a significant number of followers from the samurai class. It was also considered to be a place that protected Kyoto and where the mythical creatures called Tengu was believed to live. The appearance of Atago in literature can be seen in many documents, such as the *Tale of Genji*. It was also the subject of *waka* poems:

Atago yama	Mt. Atago
shikimi no hara ni	the snow has settled upon the fields of star anise
yuki tsumori	and even the trace
hana tsumu hito no	of those picking the flowers
ato dani no naki	has vanished[377]

The mountain therefore became a place connected to *utamakura* from at least the 10th century, and this continued to be the case during the 16th century. This can be observed through the actions of Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀 (1528-1582), who was a powerful samurai general who served Oda Nobunaga, but later rebelled against him and killed him at the Incident at Honnō-ji in 1582. However, he was soon killed by Hideyoshi. He visited Mt. Atago and worshipped *Atago Gongen.* At this point in history, he also hosted *waka* poem-making gatherings at the mountain. Four days after his visit, he sent his troops against Nobunaga and Nobunaga was killed at Honnō-ji. Most likely the intention of his visit was to pray for the strength and power to overcome Nobunaga's forces.

Mt. Atago and its shrine are significant examples of replications made by the Tokugawa shogunate in Edo. According to the Atago shrine's official explanation of its own history,[378] it was established on the 24th day of the 9th lunar month in 1603 under the orders of Tokugawa Ieyasu. The shrine's deity had the official intention of protecting worshippers from fire and other natural disasters. There was a fire at Mt. Atago in Edo in 1627,[379] but the damaged areas were restored by the shogunate's funding. Its main worshipped deity is Honsubi, exactly the

[377] Sone no Yoshitada. *Sotan shū* (end of the Hei`an period)
[378] *Atago jinja on yūsho* (Possessed by Atago shrine)
[379] Saitō Gesshin (1912) *Bukō Nenpyō.* Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko

same deity worshiped at Mt. Atago, Kyoto. It also enshrines other deities including Shōgun Jizō, which again used to be worshiped at Mt. Atago.

Tokugawa Jikki explains in more detail how Atago was moved to Edo.[380] It states that in 1582, Ieyasu was moving from Sakai to Mikawa, and suggests that, upon the event of Nobunaga's assassination led by Akechi Mitsuhide, Ieyasu stayed in a local lord's house, a man called Tarao Mitsutoshi 多羅尾光俊 (1514-1609). Mitsutoshi presented a statue of Shōgun Jizō to Ieyasu, saying that it once belonged to Minamoto no Yoritomo and that he used it to protect himself and his family. They always took this statue on the battlefield and they always managed to avoid danger. For this reason, Mitsutoshi told Ieyasu to take this statue with him. After this happened, Ieyasu built a religious site to worship *Atago Gongen* in Edo for when he finally arrived there. This statue of Shōgun Jizō was mentioned in a picture book, *Edo Meisho Zue*, at the end of the 18th century. The book states that the statue was believed to be the work made of a monk, Gyōki 行基 (668-749), who was active in the 8th century and played an important role when building the Tōdai-ji 東大寺 Great Buddha at Nara. The picture book also explains that this was the same Atago as in Kyoto, and that the deity enshrined in the replicated space was a protective god that guarded against fire damage and accidents.[381] The same book describes the view of Mt. Atago in an exaggerated way: "the mountain has very steep cliffs which stand almost vertically and the height rivals with the height of the sky. The 68 steps continue as if each step is like a cloud, and the top of the mountain is full of pine trees even in the middle of summer. One can forget the heat upon climbing on this mountain, and when looking down from the peak of the mountain thousands of gates and tens of thousands of houses can be seen together with the open sea. This is the location which has the most beautiful view."[382]

In reality, while Mt. Atago is the highest hill within present-day special wards of Tokyo it only has an altitude of 26 metres. Even so, it was the highest location within the Edo territory at that time, therefore it was likely considered to be the most convincing location to worship Atago. It is also notable that the scenery of Kyoto represented in *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens deliberately places Atago almost as a rival mountain to that of Mt. Hiei. This is easier to understand when considering that Kan'ei-ji is placed on the north-east side of such screens in

[380] *Tokugawa Jikki, tōshōgū gojikki vol.6*
[381] *Edo meisho zue, Atagosan gongen honsha*
[382] Ibid.

relation to Edo castle. Even though Atago's position does not reflect the actual geographical direction and distance of the original, this may well have been considered the most suitable and logical placement in *Edozu byōbu*.

We can be certain that Mt. Atago in Edo was copied by the Tokugawa shogunate from the original mountain in Kyoto. Although the heights of the two mountains are very different, Tokugawa Ieyasu evidently felt the need to create his own Mt. Atago in his new headquarters of Edo.

2.4 Representation in visual materials

2.4.1 Kyoto

2.4.1.1 Mt. Hiei

Certain visual sources help us understand how religious mountains in both Kyoto and Edo are represented.

Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Kōhon,[383] version A (c. 1525-1536) is one of the earliest visual sources to include Mt. Hiei, placing it in the context of the relationship between nature outside the capital and life in Kyoto. For a long time this earliest surviving example of *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* was linked to uncertainty of its purpose and the original patron. However, Kojima Michihiro introduces Hosokawa Takakuni 細川高国 (1484-1531) as the patron who ordered this painting from Kanō Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476-1559) when Takakuni built Ashikaga Yoshiharu's 足利義晴 (1511-1550) palace and when the role of head of the family was passed down to his son Tanekuni.[384] Looking at the artwork from Kojima's understanding, the shogunal palace built in 1525 becomes the building depicted on the left screen. The painting style, which is a mixture of *yamato'e* technique and the hallmarks of Chinese style paintings, most likely seems to be by the hand of the painter Kanō Motonobu.

[383]There are different names added to this version such as Rekihaku kōhon, Sanjō screens, Machida screens etc., but in this paper I'm going to use version A

[384]Kojima Michihiro, 2014. 'Rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu rekihaku kōhon no seisaku jijō wo megutte' In *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku vol.180*. Sakura: Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, p.107-128

Fig. 12: Kanō Motonobu, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version A* (c. 1525-1536) right screen

Fig. 13: Kanō Motonobu, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version A* (c. 1525-1536) left screen

Mt. Hiei is placed on the top left corner of the right screen, with the description *Hie no Yama.* There is another description given on the left-hand side of Mt. Hiei, *Yokawa*, which is a part of a large religious territory of Mt. Hiei. Mt. Hiei is distanced by *suyari gasumi* (golden clouds) from the people, the city and the rest of the area, and no buildings are depicted on the mountain.

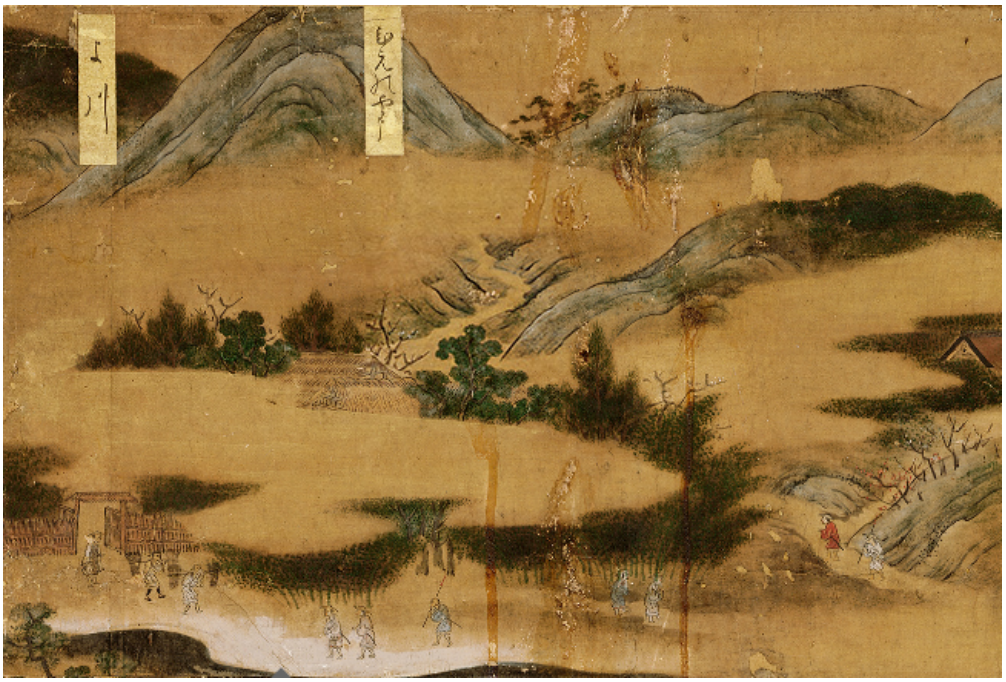

Fig. 14: Kanō Motonobu, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version A* (c. 1525-1536) close-up of Mt. Hiei

Not too far from Mt. Hiei, we can see the Imperial palace, and under it a depiction of town life appears. This vertical placement of Mt. Hiei not only indicates the physical distance but represents holiness and a sacred world. The upper section of such screens is considered to be a place where sacred images appear, and the lower section starts to possess worldly characteristics the further down the viewer looks. This order of sacredness and worldliness continued to be present in many *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens which were made at later dates. In the genre of *rakuchū rakugai zu,* the scaling of the pictorial representation was not necessarily accurate or reflective of reality. This can be seen by looking at the size of the human scale. The buildings of authoritative and powerful figures, such as palaces, castles, mansions and monumental buildings are regularly depicted in the middle section in terms of the horizontal composition of the paintings, and this architecture was regularly depicted larger than the actual size in relation to everything else. Mt. Hiei which is depicted here, before the devastation caused by Nobunaga, was represented as a place so far distanced from the town that temples and shrines could not be depicted. Through this imagery and the connotations it held, people understood Mt. Hiei to be a sacred mountain.

The political importance of *rakuchū rakugai zu* continued to be the main motivation of their creation, and because of this Mt. Hiei was a vital inclusion in the works of the time. The

Uesugi screen is considered by many as the most significant and undoubtedly most elaborate *rakuchū rakugai zu* screen in the first category of this genre. According to the Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum which possesses this set of screens, it was painted by Kanō Eitoku and given to Uesugi Kenshin 上杉謙信 (1530-1578) by Oda Nobunaga in 1574.[385] The background of these folding screens is still uncertain, and many scholars are still involved in trying to unveil the commissioner, its purpose and the painter. Various opinions have been published on the screen's origin. Imatani Akira[386] disputes the theory that it was painted in the 1570s and presented by Nobunaga to Kenshin, by limiting its period of depiction to 1547. However, both Seta Katsuya[387] and Kuroda Hideo[388] disagree with Imatani and state that this was made around 1565, commissioned by Ashikaga Yoshiteru 足利義輝 (1536-1565). Kuroda argues that the purpose of presenting this painting to Uesugi Kenshin was to encourage Kenshin to support Yoshiteru by sending Kenshin's troops to Kyoto. Through focusing on the Muromachi shogun's palace, which is depicted in the screen, Takahashi Yasuo argues that this is a highly political screen which places the Hosokawa clan and Ashikaga shogun as two political centres, and that the screen creates an idealised Kyoto.[389] Matthew McKelway states that this screen has a high political interest, is made by Kanō Eitoku and includes the allusions of the life and the political situation of Ashikaga Yoshiteru.[390] Regardless of who commissioned the screen and when, in all explanations it holds a staggering amount of political importance.

[385] *Uesugi version rakuchū rakugai zu screens*. Denkoku no Mori website [Online] Available from: http://www.denkoku-no-mori.yonezawa.yamagata.jp/rakuchyu_rakugai.htm [Accessed: 8th of May 2015]
[386] Imatani Akira, 1988. *Kyoto 1547 nen – uesugi bon rakuchū rakugai zu no nazo wo toku*. Tokyo: Heibonsha
[387] Seta Katsuya, 1994. *Rakuchū rakugai no gunzō*. Tokyo: Heibonsha
[388] Kuroda Hideo, 1996. *Nazotoki rakuchū rakugai zu*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten
[389] Takahashi Yasuo, 2006. 'Egakareta Kyoto – uesugi bon rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu no muromachi den wo megutte', p.83-109
[390] Matthew Philip Mckelway, 2006. *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval: Kyoto*. p.98

Fig. 15: Kanō Eitoku, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Uesugi Screens* (Late 16th century) right screen

Fig. 16: Kanō Eitoku, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Uesugi Screens* (Late 16th century) left screen

Here too, Mt. Hiei is depicted in almost the exact same position on the top left-hand side. The way the mountain is depicted is similar to *Rekihaku* Version A, however there are some notable differences. The mountain depicts *Hie no Yama*. The roof of the building structures can be observed; however, we cannot see the whole building as it is partially covered by Japanese cedar trees. *Yokawa* is not depicted on the left side, but instead seven people are shown above the golden cloud named *Imamichi Tōge.* Just above the mountain, we can observe a rather small and primitive building with a few people, named *Shirakawa*. Much of the artistic expression is shared with that which appears in the previous screen. However, while the previous screen does not depict any people, this screen does depict a number of human beings.

Imamichi Tōge was one of the seven major routes that lead out of Kyoto at the time, and it was one of the routes that led people to Ōmi. This increased the number of secular

appearances around Mt. Hiei. This in turn seems to indicate that Hiei became a place which people in Kyoto could easily reach, although this cannot be fully confirmed. In the Uesugi screen, Mt. Hiei is also no longer coloured in white greyish shades. Instead, it is depicted with the same colouring as nearby hills. This seems to suggest that Hiei was understood as a location distinctly separate from the people of Kyoto. If this painting was commissioned by Nobunaga in 1574, the representation of Mt. Hiei seems problematic as Nobunaga burned down major temples there. If Nobunaga commissioned this painting, certain buildings ought not to appear in order to reflect Nobunaga's political message. This is something that the painter had to keep firmly in mind while making this painting, regardless of whether the painting was commissioned by Nobunaga or Ashikaga Yoshiteru.

This connection between Mt. Hiei and the people has however disappeared again in the *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku* Version B. Version B is widely understood to have been made sometime from the 1570s to 1580s. Kojima states that, from its painting style, many consider Kanō Motonobu's son Kanō Shōei as the painter of the artwork. He also believes it was not commissioned by political figures, as the central theme in the painting was not a political subject.[391] This hypothesis is convincing if the painting was made at the time Kojima claims, as at that point the power of both the Ashikaga shogunate and Hosokawa clan had declined significantly. Through the medium of paintings of the time, their level of power was not as meticulously depicted as in the previously introduced two set of screens. Mabuchi Miho also considered Kanō Shōei as the painter, and also suggested the possibility of Shōei's son Kanō Sōshū 狩野宗秀 (1551-1601).[392]

[391]Kojima Michihiro, 2009.*Egakareta sengokuno Kyoto - rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu wo yomu.* p.161-162
[392] Mabuchi Miho, 2004. 'Rekihaku otsuhon rakuchū rakugai zu no hissha seisaku nendai saikō' In *Nihon gakujutsu shinkōkai, egakareta toshi – chūkunsei kaiga wo chūshin to suru hikaku kenkyū*. Tokyo: Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, p.42-65

Fig. 17: Kanō Shōei and Kanō Sōshū, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Version B* (c. 1570's to 1580's) right screen

Fig. 18: Kanō Shōei and Kanō Sōshū, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Version B* (c. 1570's to 1580's) left screen

Mt. Hiei once again is depicted at the top left corner of the right screen. It does not have any description but there is a trace of a removed label. This implies that the screen might have had these descriptions attached but later removed for some reason.

Fig. 19: Kanō Shōei and Kanō Sōshū, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Version B* (c. 1570's to 1580's) close-up of Mt. Hiei

There are no buildings, no human beings and no road to either Ōmi or Hiei depicted on this screen. The way the mountains are painted is very sharp, in a similar way to the depiction of mountains in Chinese style paintings. This might be caused by, as Kojima suggests, the presumption that this painting was not painted for politicians but to portray people's realistic customs and ways.[393]

After Hideyoshi took control of most of Japan, including Kyoto, the portrayal of Mt. Hiei seems to be reduced in paintings that depict Kyoto. In works which show Kyoto after the time of Hideyoshi, the interest seems to shift to newly-built structures such as Jurakudai palace and later Hōkō-ji and Toyokuni shrine. For example, both *Jurakudai Zu byōbu,*[394] which was made before 1588 and many second type *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* do not include Mt. Hiei. This is somewhat understandable when considering Hideyoshi did not give permission to reconstruct Mt. Hiei until 1584, which is just two years before he decided to build Hōkō-ji. This demonstrates that paintings that depict Kyoto were still mainly for a political purpose. When Hideyoshi died in 1598 shortly after the completion of the Great Buddha Hall, and also the completion of the Nijō castle in 1603 which was built by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the interest in Hiei was not yet strongly felt which can be seen from how Mt. Hiei is portrayed.

[393] Kojima Michihiro, 2009.*Egakareta sengokuno Kyoto - rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu wo yomu.* p.158
[394] *Jurakudai zu byōbu*, Mitsui Memorial museum

The earliest example of the second type *rakuchū rakugai zu* is the Shōkō-ji screen which, similarly to the Yamaoka screen currently only consists of the left screen. Unlike the first type of *rakuchū rakugai zu*, this type of screen depicts newly-created Hōkō-ji and Nijō castle together with the Imperial Palace as the main subject matters. Early surviving examples of these second type *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens are highly political, reflecting the political tension which Kyoto held at this transitional period in historic Japanese politics. Around the time when the second type screens appeared, the Tokugawa shogunate had increased its political presence ever more through building Nijō castle. In contrast, Toyotomi's power had reduced significantly, firstly due to the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 and secondly, the war with Ieyasu which started in 1614. As Takeda Tsuneo states, its composition and its brushing is refined.[395] It is considered to be by the hand of a Kanō school painter. The screen came into the possession of Shōkō-ji through the marriage between a daughter of high-ranked aristocrat Takatsukasa Masahiro 鷹司政熙 (1761-1841) and the head monk of the temple at the end of the 15th century. It was used as a dowry for the bride. The time when this screen was made has not yet been debated in detail or completely established. By examining the background of some buildings represented in the painting, it is possible to state that the year of the making is between 1612 and 1618. The rationale behind this claim will be explored in further chapters.

Fig. 20: Kanō Takanobu, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Shōkō-ji* screen (between 1612 and 1618)

[395]Takeda Tsuneo (1993) 'Egakareta kyō' In *Omoshiro Hanano kyō – rakuchū rakugai zu no jidai.* Tokyo: NHK promotion, p.15

Fig. 21: Kanō Takanobu, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Shōkō-ji* screen (between 1612 and 1618)

The above screen shows only the foot of Mt. Hiei. Although the essence and basic understanding of a 'mountain' can be felt from the image, it does not immediately follow that the mountain is definitely Mt. Hiei as there is no clear description of it as such. In the 1610s neither Toyotomi nor Ieyasu appeared interested in reviving the power possessed by Mt. Hiei. Although the reconstruction of Konpon Chūdō was permitted when Hideyoshi was alive, it wasn't established until the time of the third shogun Iemitsu. The neglected representation of Mt. Hiei in these screens suggests the weak status of Mt. Hiei at the time of the creation of these screens. This tendency of ignoring the existence of Mt. Hiei continued until the second half of the 17th century, when *rakuchū rakugai zu* evolved into *rakuchū rakugai zu* that focused on showing famous sites in Kyoto, and subsequently into *rakuchū tsukinami zu* which places its interest in depicting seasonal events in Kyoto.

The fading out of the political theme that was apparent in above *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens most probably happened due to the absence of major wars in Japan. Paintings that depict the entire city scale were no longer demanded by rulers, and the interests of the people had shifted to *meisho*. This screen seems to depict the 1620s. At this time, the Konpon Chūdō at Mt. Hiei was not yet restored, which remained the case until the year 1641. This tendency to treat *rakuchū rakugai zu* as paintings that depicted a famous place further developed in the following period. A change in the mindset of the people can be observed from *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku* Version D. Unlike the Shōkō-ji screen, the political tone of tension which was depicted in this painting is diluted. This can be observed from the emphasis on depicting shops and ordinary people's activities. Many shops have different professions depicted in

detail, often with a unique image that symbolises the name of their store. However, it is crucial to mention here that not depicting a politically tense city in the painting doesn't necessarily mean that there was a lack of political presence in it. This can be explained while looking at the one of the images such as Fig. 22 and 23 which has a peaceful presence that the authority brought to the people and thus it symbolises the political success of the authority which is depicted in the painting. Therefore, in a way it looks like only depicting famous places of Kyoto but it is still holds a political meaning.

Fig. 22: *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version D* (c. 1620's) right screen

Fig. 23: *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version D* (c. 1620's) left screen

Fig. 24: *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version D* (c. 1620's) close-up of Mt. Hiei

In *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version D* (c. 1620's), Mt. Hiei is depicted at the usual location on the upper left corner of the right screen. In the screen, the famous Hōkō-ji bell which caused the siege of Osaka Castle can be seen on the right-hand side of the Hōkō-ji Buddha hall, which will be discussed in Chapter 4. It is also next to the Sanjūsangen-dō, where the famous archery scene is depicted. When looking at Toyokuni shrine and above, we see that the shrine is in good condition and people are shown visiting it to view the cherry blossoms. In front of the shrine there are 11 people dancing holding fans in their hands, and the central figure in this dancing seems to hold a *suhama*-shaped object. This dancing scene indicates that Toyotomi Hideyoshi was still a subject of celebration for both the painter and patron of the painting. As explained above, these are still political paintings yet the tones have changed from a stiff mood to calm.

A noticeable decline of the tensional political motive in the creation of *rakuchū rakugai zu* can be seen in another painting, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku* Version F. This *rakuchū rakugai zu* bears a symbol of *Hōgen Gukei Hitsu*, which indicates that it is painted by early Edo-period *yamato'e* painter Sumiyoshi Gukei 住吉具慶 (1631-1705). Researchers such as Kojima doubt that the work is made by Gukei, since the sign is not his original. They also cite the naive technique applied to the painting and assert that it is not the work of an expert. Kojima suggests that, considering the compositional similarity of this painting to other Sumiyoshi works, it is possible that this was made by a studio that had some sort of relationship with or

had been influenced by him. It is also possible that the studio used Sumiyoshi Gukei as a selling point.[396] Since this potentially false symbol of Sumiyoshi Gukei is used on the screen, it is highly possible that the screen was made after the 1670s as this is when he called himself Gukei. This does not rule out the possibility that this sign was added after the completion of the screen.

Fig. 25: Attributed: Sumiyoshi Gukei, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version F* (After 1626) right screen

Fig. 26: Attributed: Sumiyoshi Gukei, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version F* (After 1626) left screen

In Fig. 25, Mt. Hiei is depicted on the upper section of the sixth panel on the right screen, where the shape of a building now appears on the mountain. This is a contrast to

[396] *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version F*, National museum of Japanese history [Online] Available from:https://www.rekihaku.ac.jp/outline/publication/rekihaku/164/witness.html [Accessed: 17th August 2015]

previous works which did not depict anything on the mountain at all. From the painting style applied to Mt. Hiei, there is a strong indication that this painting was made after the 1640s. The reason for this is the name given to Mt. Hiei on the screen, *Hiei-zan Enryaku-ji,* meaning Enryaku-ji at Mt. Hiei. The reference to Enryaku-ji can more definitely date the work to a specific period. Directly under the description, two building roofs can be observed. It is not clear if this indicates specific buildings, but is most likely meant to represent Konpon Chūdō as the most important central religious building for Mt. Hiei. As previously stated, this was completed through the support of both Tenkai and Iemitsu in 1641. Such an inclusion narrows the date of the work's creation down considerably.

Kojima mentions that other screens quite similar to the screen stated above are available to examine. He does not specify any particular ones, but one of these is assumed to be a set of screens called *rakuchū tsukinami zu*.[397]

Fig. 27: *Rakuchū tsukinami zu* (first half of the Edo period) right screen

Fig. 28: *Rakuchū Tsukinami Zu* (first half of the Edo period) left screen

[397] This is a private collection introduced in an exhibition catalogue *Omoshiro Hanano kyō*

This *Rakuchū Tsukinami Zu* (figures 27 and 28) screen's depiction of Kyoto is almost identical to that of *rekihaku* version F, and the way Mt. Hiei is depicted is also the same. Although it is difficult to identify which was made first, as the size of *rekihaku* version F is larger and the condition and way it has been painted are both superior, it may be possible to conjecture that *rekihaku* version F is an earlier work. This cannot be more than speculation, as there is no evidence that *rekihaku* version F is the earliest example of this composition and style. In either case, from the title of the paintings *rakuchū rakugai zu* in this period becomes a painting that shows famous places of Kyoto together with monthly events which happened in the city. The areas which were considered *rakugai* were no longer seen as outside of Kyoto through the expansion of the city itself, and this is indicated by the title of the painting: *Rakuchū Tsukinami Zu*. By the time of the appearance of these screens, Kyoto had ceased to be a centre of political tension and the rivalry between the daimyo had completely disappeared. Kyoto became a city which represented beautiful places under the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate. People enjoyed, entertained, flourished and celebrated their peace following the disturbances of recent history.

When examining the pictorial representations of Mt. Hiei from *rekihaku kōhon*, the first *rakuchū rakugai zu* to the second half of the 17th century, it becomes clear that Mt. Hiei was understood as a landmark. This indicates how far people in Kyoto recognised the extent of their city, in a territorial sense. From the beginning of the appearance of Mt. Hiei in *rakuchū rakugai zu,* its location in the painting does not change, no matter if it was a politically motivated painting or not. In the Uesugi screen, through the placement of a street that leads to a neighbouring region of Ōmi, Mt. Hiei symbolises the concept of *oku* which was introduced earlier in this thesis. With the decline of both the Imperial court and Hosokawa clan's authority in Kyoto, the understanding of Mt. Hiei changed from somewhere accessible, to a place which almost forbids the access of ordinary people. When Hideyoshi took over control of Kyoto, the interest of the people was focused more on recently-built architecture, such as Jurakudai, Hōkō-ji and Toyokuni shrine. Mt. Hiei was not fully restored by Hideyoshi or Ieyasu, which seems to be one of the reasons why it did not receive much attention during this time. It appears that Mt. Hiei is depicted solely because former *rakuchū rakugai zu* depicted the mountain. However, in the final stages of the development of *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens Mt. Hiei began to receive respect by representing the newly-built Konpon Chūdō. Its building and mountain is placed higher than all other mountains and buildings shown, which also suggests its religious importance. The regaining of religious significance, which is reflected in *Rekihaku* Version F,

was achieved not because the Tendai sect regained its power but through the power provided by the people of Edo. The audience of the painting changed throughout time, Mt. Hiei was first mostly looked at by people in Kyoto, later transformed into an observation those around Kyoto, and then became a representation of being distanced from Kyoto.

2.4.1.2 Hiyoshi Taisha Festival

The Hiyoshi Taisha festival was the major religious ritual at Hiyoshi. Because of the individual characteristics of the festival, it became a popular subject for making a specific type of painting called *saireizu*. There were many different *saireizu* made after the appearance of *rakuchū rakugai zu*. Several portray Gion shrine's festival within the screen, which triggered a general interest amongst artists in portraying other festivals in other places. This set of screens, called *Hiyoshi Sannō Sairei Kamo Kurabeuma Zu byōbu*, portrays Hiyoshi Taisha and its festival on the right screen. On the left screen, we can see Kamo shrine's horse racing ritual.

Fig. 29: *Hiyoshi Sannō Sairei Kamo Kurabeuma Zu byōbu* (early to mid-17th century) right screen

Fig. 30: *Hiyoshi Sannō Sairei Kamo Kurabeuma Zu byōbu* (early to mid-17th century) left screen

On the right screen (Fig. 29), we see the Mikoshi palanquin for the god of seven shrines in which each palanquin represents *kami* that is worshipped in total of seven shrine buildings at Hiyoshi Taisha leaving the mountain and approaching the middle of Lake Biwako where they receive sacred ritual food. According to Takeda, the compositional arrangement of those Mikoshi palanquins is a lightning-shaped formation that creates tension in the screen. He continues, saying that that the style of portraying people is in a trademark style of Iwasa Matabei, and suggests that this screen reminds him of the later stage of Matabei's painting style.[398] What this thesis will focus on here is the second panel of the upper section of the right screen, where the Hiyoshi Taisha compound is portrayed in an unclear fashion.

[398] Takeda Tsuneo comment in 1978. *Nihon byōbue shūsei vol.13 fūzokuga*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, p.95

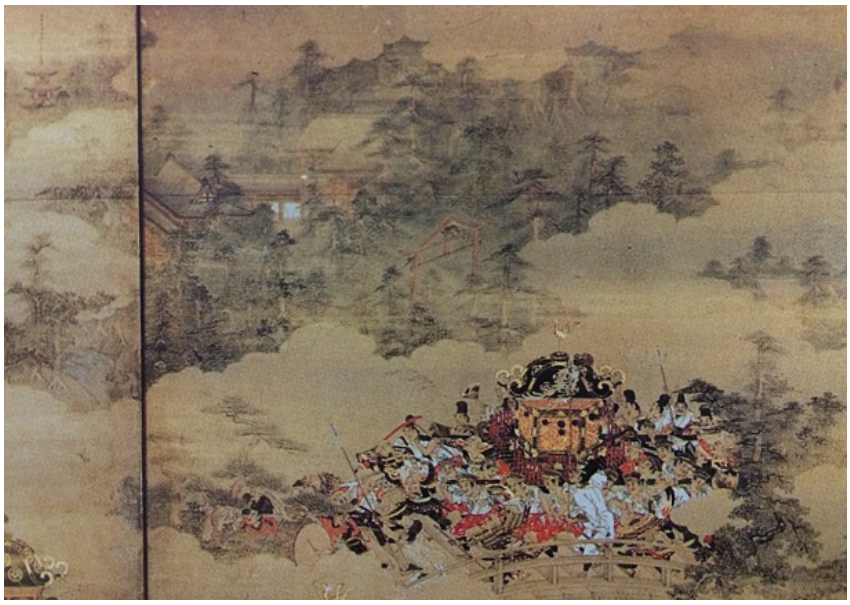

Fig. 31: *Hiyoshi Sannō Sairei Kamo Kurabeuma Zu byōbu* (early to mid-17th century) close-up of Hiyoshi Taisha

All of the buildings portrayed in the region of the Hiyoshi Taisha indicate the unique architectural style of the buildings, known as *hiyoshi zukuri.* This might suggest that, by the time the painting was made, either the painter was unaware of these buildings (which were restored by the Tokugawa shogunate in the early 1630s) or this painting was made before the restoration. There is also a possibility that the painter did not want to portray the restored Hiyoshi Taisha. However, this would be highly unusual and illogical, given that the Mikoshi palanquins are depicted in great detail. Another point of note within the artwork is the expression of its *torii* gates, which are depicted at the entrance of the Hiyoshi Taisha compound on the same panel.

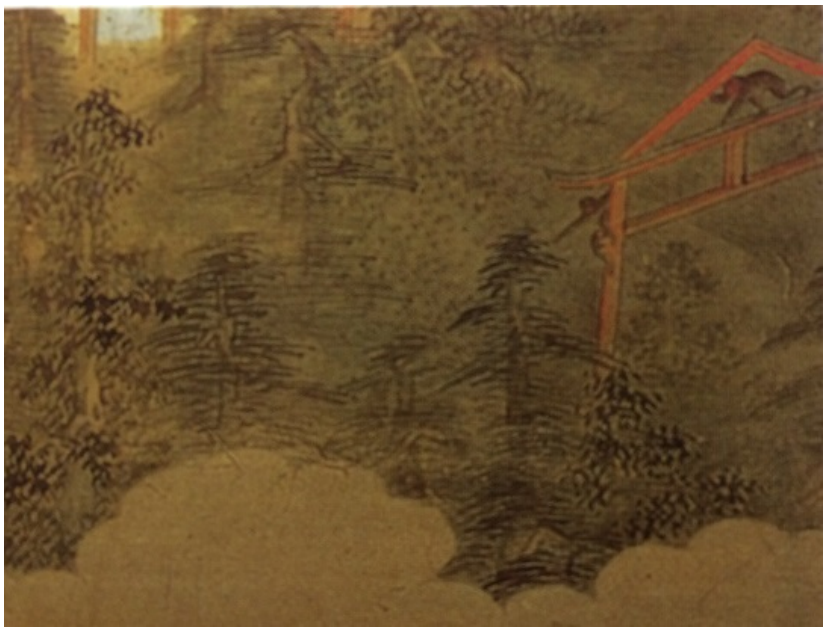

Fig. 32: *Hiyoshi Sannō Sairei Kamo Kurabeuma Zu byōbu* (early to mid-17th century) close-up of monkeys

When we look closely, we can see the gate with its distinctive features and that it also portrays two monkeys. The inclusion of a monkey indicates that this animal was understood as a symbol of Hiyoshi Taisha by not only the painter but also the commissioner of the painting. In addition, other viewers of the painting in Edo would have shared this understanding of the importance of monkeys.

Fig. 33: *Hiyoshi Sannō Saireizu byōbu* (early to mid-17thcentury) right screen

Fig. 34: *Hiyoshi Sannō Saireizu byōbu* (early to mid-17th century) left screen

Fig. 35: *Hiyoshi Sannō Saireizu byōbu* (early to mid-17th century) close-up of Hiyoshi Taisha

When we look at the *Hiyoshi Sannō Saireizu byōbu* owned by Konchi-in, it becomes clear that this portrays Hiyoshi Taisha after the restoration projects had been completed. As stated, these projects were mostly funded by the Tokugawa shogunate in the 1630s. The religious buildings of Hiyoshi Taisha are precisely represented, and because of this detail we can clearly observe the distinct architectural style of *hiyoshi zukuri* and the contrast to the previously-introduced Hiyoshi sannō screen, where the representation of Hiyoshi was unclear. The distinct Hiyoshi Taisha's *torii* gates clearly symbolise that this is the territory of Hiyoshi Taisha in Kyoto, where the grand Hiyoshi Taisha festival procession leads people to Lake Biwako. However, unfortunately there is no monkey depicted on this screen, but the existence

of these screens indicates that Hiyoshi Taisha's festival was considered to be a spectacle by the people of that time.

2.4.1.3 Mt. Atago

Mt. Atago is also depicted in *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens. There is no clear indication of the word 'Atago' itself in the *Rekihaku* Version A, but when closely looking at the direction in which Atago could possibly be represented a description of the mountain can be found on the left screen.

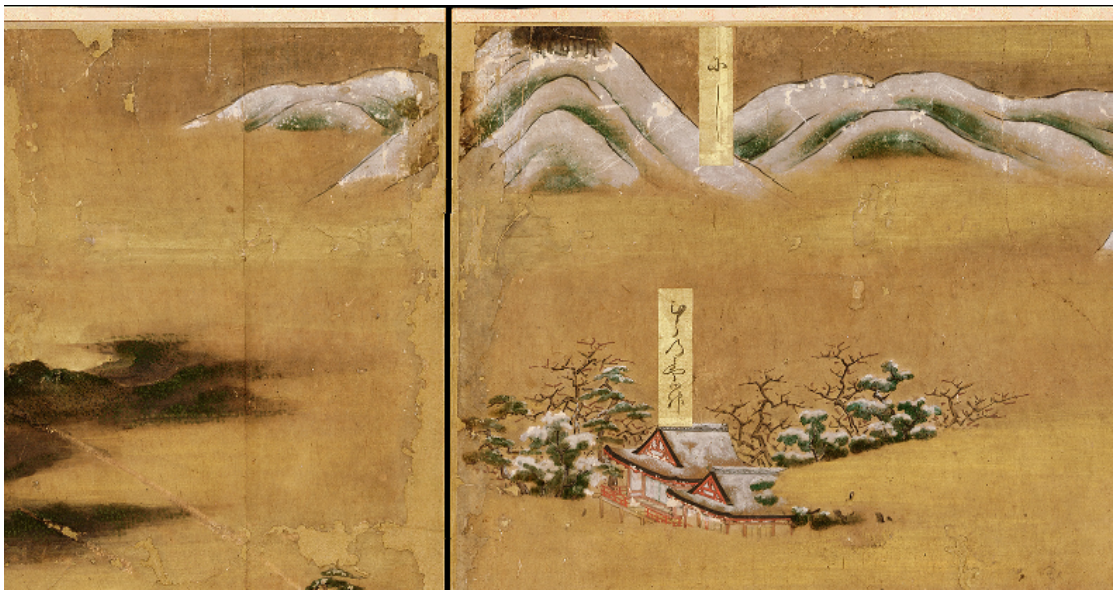

Fig. 36: *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version A* (1525-1536) close-up of Mt. Atago

In this image, there is writing indicating that this place is called Fushi, depicted just above the Hirano-sha shrine. The word Fushi most likely means Mt. Fuji. At the time of this work's creation there was no Mt. Fuji that could be observed from within Kyoto. However, when considering Mt. Atago as the highest mountain that can be seen from inside of Kyoto – and one which is higher than Mt. Hiei - it is natural to consider it as an equivalent to Mt. Fuji by that time. The mountain seems to be covered by snow, and there is no depiction of human beings or any man-made structures, such as religious sites or street paths. This is very similar to the depiction of Mt. Hiei in the same set of screens. Mt. Atago on the left screen is depicted at the highest upper section of the left screen, which can be compared easily to that of Mt. Hiei on the right screen. This could suggest that when this screen was made, people understood that

these two sacred mountains are to divide Kyoto and the other territorial space and thus both were crucial to define and symbolise what Kyoto was.

Mt. Atago also appears in the Uesugi screens. This time, Atago is definitely named as Atago, and it is intended to replicate how Fuji is depicted in the previous screens in terms of positioning, style and detail.

Fig. 37: Kanō Eitoku, *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Uesugi Screen* (Late 16th century) close-up of Mt. Atago

The way Mt. Atago is depicted has something of a similarity to the previously-introduced *Rekihaku* Version A. The round-shaped mountain itself, as well as the trees depicted on top of the mountain, seems to share the characteristics understood by painters, most likely Kanō school painters at the time, to represent Mt. Atago. In this instance, Mt. Atago is not covered by snow and, just as Mt. Hiei is depicted in the same set of screens, Mt. Atago also started to welcome visitors by portraying both people and the *torii* gates that lead people to the shrine. This way of representing Mt. Atago as a method of understating the representation of Mt. Hiei leaves what is potentially behind the mountain to the imagination of the viewer**,** which was probably understood as the importance of these mountains by

everyone, including the painter, the commissioner and other educated viewers both inside and outside of Kyoto. Moreover, this understanding of mountains might well be shared with the people of the following period. Also, as mentioned before, since the time this artwork was created is very close to when Akechi Mitsuhide visited Mt. Atago for poetry composition just before his rebellion against Oda Nobunaga, it is even clearer that he visited this place not for a merely religious purpose but also of its reputation as an *utamakura*, indicating that the mountain is depicted in another way and is does not only seem to have an important religious significance.

The *Kanpū Zu byōbu*, which is also known as *Takao Kanpū Zu byōbu*, gives us more evidence that this was the case. This screen is believed to be the work of Kanō Hideyori, who is the second son or grandson of Kanō Motonobu.

Fig. 38: Kanō Hideyori, *Kanpū Zu byōbu* (c. 1560-early 1570s)

The screen portrays people enjoying the autumn season, at what is believed to be the location of Mt. Takao. This is one of the earliest examples of genre paintings in Japan which includes themes of *shiki'e*, and there is a representation of Mt. Atago on the 4th, 5th and 6th panels of the screen.

Fig. 39: Kanō Hideyori, *Kanpū Zu byōbu,* (c. 1560-early 1570's) close-up of Mt. Atago

Most of the people who are depicted here are shown coming to this location not for a religious purpose, but to appreciate the beautiful scenery. Mt. Atago is portrayed in a similar way to the depictions on the 4th and 5th panels of the *rakuchū rakugai zu* screen. On the 5th and 6th panels, the *torii* gates and the passageway to the top of the mountain to the shrine are portrayed above the cloud. Mt. Atago is depicted in winter, and five men are portrayed on its passageway. One of them is almost disappearing due to the condition of the screen. The facial expressions of these men are peaceful, matching the facial expressions of the main figures portrayed in the screen at the site of Takao. The mountain is connected with three white herons, which likely represent the symbolism of the winter season that belongs to Mt. Atago. The imagery heads towards the lower part of the screen, and on the right side there are birds flying towards Mt. Atago, showing that autumn is turning into winter. The mentions above indicate that this image was not made to worship these religious sites, but to show how people enjoy peace within a circle of four season movement.

When the second type of *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens started to appear, in many cases Mt. Atago was no longer the focus of the screens. This change is quite similar to that of Mt. Hiei over time. Names of the mountains were no longer depicted, and when Mt. Atago appeared it was portrayed in a minimalistic way to mimic the representation of Mt. Hiei. This most likely stemmed from the fact that the people's main interest at the time was to portray the recently-created major buildings in the capital's central locations such as Hōkō-ji and Nijō castle. This cultural shift will be more closely looked at in the chapter on Daibutsu. When Tokugawa finally brought peace to Kyoto, Mt. Atago started to be depicted in paintings again. It is likely that by this time the mountain was starting to be recognised and appreciated as a *meisho*. The *Rekihaku* Version D, although lacking the specific name of Atago, definitely

portrays the mountain. Mt. Atago does not display its seasonal characteristics of winter but is portrayed in a light green colour. It is also portrayed in a less round and elegant way as it was before, and people are not portrayed in the mountain or the *torii* gates.

Fig. 40: *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version D* (c. 1620's) close-up of Mt. Atago

In a way, this indicates the painter's lack of understanding of the cultural characteristics attached to the mountain. Using this standpoint as a basis, it is possible to state that the popularisation and start of a stereotypical way of selecting subject matter and composition had already started at this time.

2.4.2 Edo

2.4.2.1 Kan'ei-ji

Although there are only a few images known to depict early-17th century Edo, these visual materials suggest that these works of art include many places that were copied from Kyoto into Edo by the Tokugawa shogunate. The first and most important is the replication of Mt. Hiei in Edo as Mt. Tōeizan, Kan'ei-ji. The Kan'ei-ji compound is depicted on a large scale over the 4th and 5th panels of the right screen.

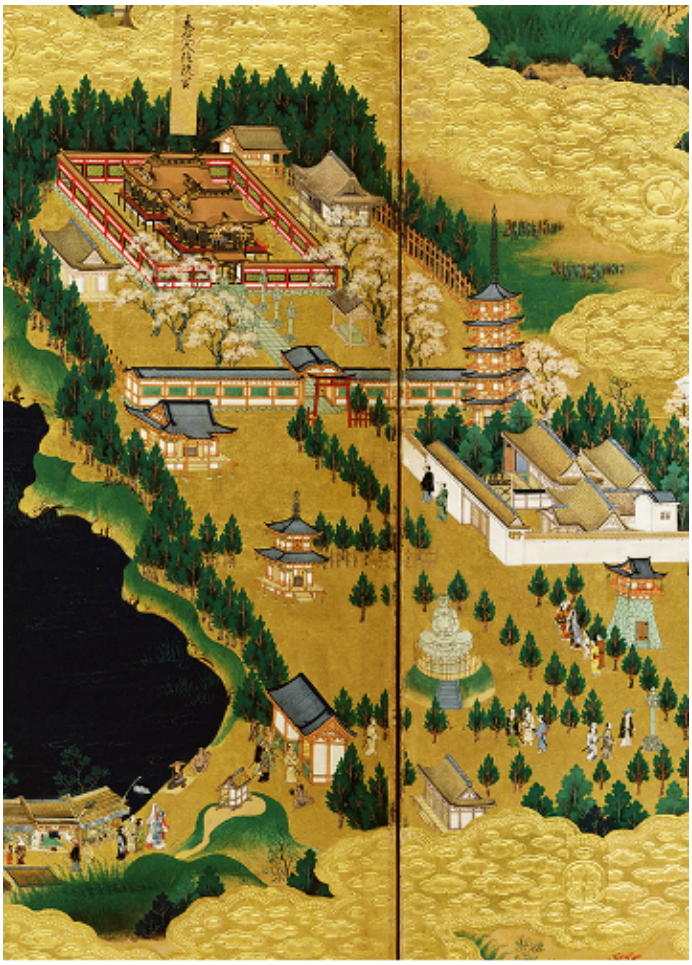

Fig. 41: *Edozu byōbu* (after 1631 and before 1634) close-up of Kan'ei-ji complex

The depiction of Kan'ei-ji includes major religious buildings which had been created by that point, including Ninai-dō hall, Daibutsu, the five-storey pagoda, Tōshō-gū and other buildings including the monks' residence. Kan'ei-ji is surrounded and detached by the golden cloud from other parts of the subject matter. For example, the nearby Sensō-ji is not connected with Kan'ei-ji at all. Benten-dō, which enshrines the goddess of Benzaiten, is not depicted, and neither is the island of Benten which was created in 1642. Each building shown is depicted in a way that makes it relatively easy to identify what the architectural style is. However, the size and geographical accuracy, as well as the state of the buildings themselves, does not truly reflect reality.

Due to the fact that Kan'ei-ji enshrines the Tōshō-gū, Tenkai acted as head monk and this place was the headquarters of the Tendai sect. Accordingly, the people visiting the site are depicted in a manner that suggests the location's relative importance. Most of the men who are not monks carry swords, indicating that social status is reflected in the hierarchical order of

the religious site. There is only a small group of women depicted within the territory of Kan'ei-ji, who seem to be followed by three female attendants. This also indicates that they are either wealthy or have a relatively high social ranking.

Trees are portrayed in an ordered way, which functions as a guide to direction and leads the eye across the artwork. These trees seem to have been depicted in the exact same manner as trees depicted at the edge of Kan'ei-ji and the Shinobazu no Ike pond.

When we look just outside of the entrance gate of Kan'ei-ji, there are a few beggars and a monk sitting and waiting for donations from the approaching wealthy people. At the bottom of the lake there are seven buildings depicted which look like shops and are similar to how shops were depicted in *rakuchū rakugai zu* especially in the area of Higashiyama or around the river Kamo. They all seem to offer sake and some food by depicting the sake bottles and food. When we look at the inner section of Tōshō-gū at Kan'ei-ji, cherry blossoms are flourishing and the Tōshō-gū is painted in a ravishing colour and style. All above depictions demonstrate the prosperity of the Tokugawa's rule over their sacred site and people.

The Kan'ei-ji compound, as a subject matter in the painting, can be better understood by combining it with the representation of Sensō-ji depicted on the lower section of Kan'ei-ji. Here, Sensō-ji is depicted in a noticeably contrasting way to the official temple complex. There are a lot more shops selling goods and offering services, and more people of different social statuses are depicted in the Sensō-ji section. All of this suggests that it was a popular temple, although not as official as Kan'ei-ji was. Certainly, Sensō-ji also gave official support and it's been acknowledged, however compared to how big of an effort the shogunate made to invest in Kan'ei-ji, there seems to be a clear difference between the political presence of these two temples.

Both Kan'ei-ji and Sensō-ji can be compared to the representation of the castle of Kawagoe and Miyoshi no Tenjin depicted on both the second and third panels of the same screen. Kawagoe has a close association with Tenkai, and the scale of the subject matter is similar in both artworks. While Kan'ei-ji and Sensō-ji present the characteristics of the religious side of Edo, Kawagoe is surrounded by a moat and shows the characteristics of harbouring a military presence.

Unlike Mt. Hiei, which is depicted in various *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* and other *rakuchū rakugai zu* images, the replicated space became a central subject matter in *Edozu byōbu*, indicating the importance of the site when understanding Edo.

The *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu* together with *Edozu byōbu* is one of the major screen paintings that express Edo before the Great Fire of Meireki in 1657.

Fig. 42: *Edo meisho zu byōbu* (c. 1642-1651) right screen

Fig. 43: *Edo meisho zu byōbu* (c. 1642-1651) left screen

In contrast to *Edozu byōbu*, these paired folding screens mostly focus on the entertainment side of Edo at that time. The screen is filled with people who are doing all sorts of different things - some fight, some enjoy *kabuki* and some are celebrating the festival. The way it portrays people shares a similarity with the style of Iwasa Matabei. Matabei, who is most well known for making genre paintings at around the time after 1637, when he moved from Fukui to Edo. This way of portraying the city suggests that this set of screens were likely not meant to be made for an official purpose such as to be displayed in the great halls of daimyo.

Fig. 44: *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu* (c. 1642-1651) close-up of Sensō-ji and Kan'ei-ji

In the first and second panels of the right screen, we can see depictions of Sensō-ji and Kan'ei-ji. While Sensō-ji is filled with people celebrating the festival, Kan'ei-ji appears to be calm in contrast. This is due to the different characteristics that both Kan'ei-ji and Sensō-ji possessed. As already explained in this thesis, Tokugawa shogunate put greater effort to dignify Kan'ei-ji, while Sensō-ji remained to be more of a site for ordinary people. There are religious architectures depicted in the painting that are similar to that of *Edozu byōbu*. For example, the Ninai-dō, Shōrō, Rinzō, five-storey pagoda and Tōshō-gū are clearly expressed, but the way these are portrayed is not the same. This is especially the case when looking at Tōshō-gū. While *Edozu byōbu* portrays Tōshō-gū in a dignified way with use of red, white, brown and gold colour combinations, the Tōshō-gū in this screen is portrayed in a less elaborate way with no gold ornamentations. Hatano Jun, through examining the architectural features of this building, states that this Tōshō-gū represents the building from when it was first built in 1627. This is different from *Edozu byōbu's* expression of the same building, which was rebuilt by the Tokugawa shogunate in 1651.[399] In terms of the time that this painting was made, Ogi Shinzō focused on *kabuki* and how it is depicted to determine the date. As a result,

[399]Hatano Jun, 1992. 'Daimyo Yashiki to jisha' In Ogi Shinzō and Takeuchi Makoto (eds.) 1992. *Edo meisho zu byōbu no sekai.* Tokyo: Iwanami shoten,p.76-79

he presumes that it is possible the painting is depicting a scene between 1644 and 1651, yet he also accepts the hypothesis that the work was painted between 1631 and 1651. However, there is more to be said when we focus on the building which is portrayed on the third panel in Figure 45.

Fig. 45: *Edo meisho zu byōbu* (c. 1642-1651) Sanjūsangen-dō

It is possible to conclude that this is Edo Sanjūsangen-dō. This can be understood by the style of the building. It has a very long horizontal shape, and people are taking part in archery at the site. It cannot be said that this represents Edo Sanjūsangen-dō with any degree of architectural accuracy, however, because this building is located on the site of Sensō-ji, it lines up with the historical document stating that it was built within the Sensō-ji area, and that this Sanjūsangen-dō was completed in the 9th month of 1642.[400] It is also stated in ‘’Research Journal of Budō Vol.3’[401] that the first appearance of the record of archery at this site is written in Tōto Sanjūsangen-dō Yakazuchō and it was in 1646. The building burned down in 1698, which means that the painting must depict the scene after the year 1642. Upon this understanding, there is no contradiction with Ogi’s hypothesis that the painting was made after 1644.

[400] Saitō Gesshin (1912)*Bukō Nenpyō*

[401] Ishioka Hisao and Kawamura Yoriyuki (1970) ‘Edo Sanjūsangen-dō Tōshiya no Kenkyu’ in *Research Journal of Budō Vol.3* Tokyo: Nihon Budo Gakkai, p.55

However, there are religious buildings at Kan'ei-ji which are supposed to be represented on this screen, but are not necessarily always depicted. This will be further discussed in the section of Daibutsu. According to Naito, the expression of Kan'ei-ji is much lighter compared to Sensō-ji or Kanda shrine because the painter intended to see Edo through the ordinary peoples' view, and was not focused on representing the dignity of the Tokugawa shogunate.[402] This understanding of *Edo Meisho zu byōbu* seems convincing. Probably this set of screens was not commissioned by the Tokugawa shogunate, but rather ordered through either a less authoritative samurai or even by wealthy merchant. These above points indicate that, although depicting the same sacred sites, there are obvious differences between the presence of politics in these screens. And this further suggests that, in a different perspective, officially made screens must emphasise a political theme which reflects upon those copied sacred sites.

2.4.2.2 Hiyoshi Sannō

Fig. 46: *Edozu byōbu* (after 1631 and before 1634) close-up of Hiyoshi Sannō

In *Edozu byōbu*, Hiyoshi Sannō is depicted on the upper left side of the Edo castle on the third panel of the left screen. When we look at the site, we notice that there are *torii* gates in front of the entry gate of Hiyoshi Sannō after the bridge. These *torii* gates do not have the

[402]Naito Masato, 2003. *Ōedo gekijō no Makuga Hiraku Edo meisho zu byōbu*. Tokyo: Shogakukan, p.32

same shape as the *torii* in *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku* Version B, which is unique to its shrine. This indicates a lack of understanding of the religious association with Hiyoshi Taisha and this specific site, also it does not have the same *torii* gate shape as when the painter portrayed this site. The short steps lead people who enter and leave the site towards the main building, as it can be seen in the close-up of *Edozu byōbu*, where two people are sitting to show their faith to Hiyoshi Sannō. It is also noticeable that a small monkey is portrayed on the fence of the main hall. This is a clear indication that this religious site has a copied aspect of Hiyoshi Taisha, and that this is intended to be understood by the viewer of the painting. This is proven by historical evidence which the chapter has already examined. The architectural feature of the main hall, although not the same style as applied for Hiyoshi Taisha, without doubt shows that this is a copy of Hiyoshi Taisha. However, its main hall does not copy the architectural style of the main hall of Hiyoshi Taisha. Since the Hie shrine's record of the architectural features of that time had been lost during the war,[403] we do not know whether this representation is based on historical facts or whether the painter just felt drawn to paint a monkey on a fence. This is something which we can observe in Figure 47.

Fig. 47: *Edozu byōbu* (after 1631 and before 1634) close-up of monkey

[403] During the research for my thesis I contacted present day Hie jinja to get information about the architectural features of Hie jinja and the answer I received was that the documents have been lost during the World War II.

Hiyoshi Sannō is also portrayed in *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu.* However, this time Hiyoshi Sannō is portrayed on a much smaller scale, to the extent that we cannot even see the entire main hall structure.

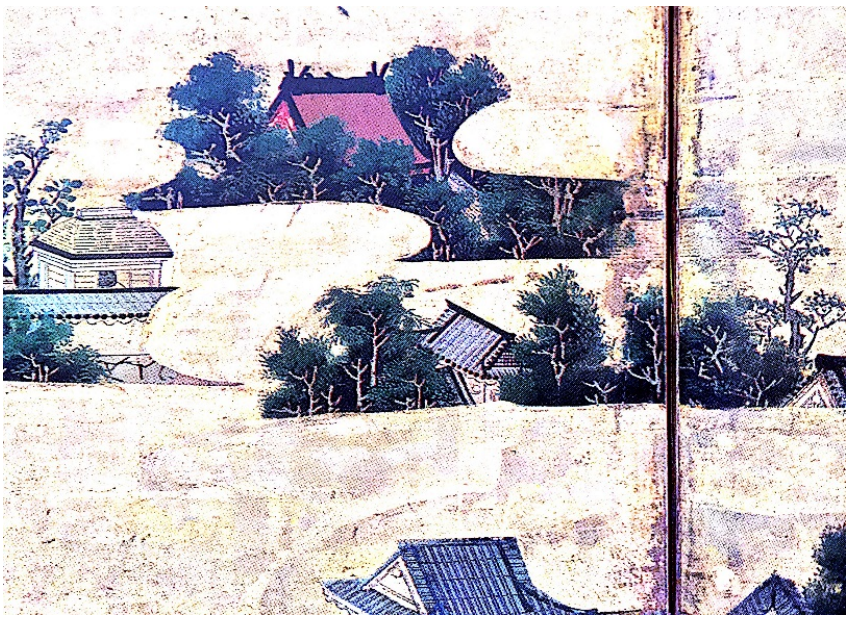

Fig. 48: *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu* (c. 1642-1651) close-up of Hiyoshi Sannō

This place is known as Hiyoshi because of the geographical alignment of the Edo castle, the Nakabashi Bridge and Nishi no Maru castle to the shrine. Much of the Hiyoshi Sannō is covered by a gold cloud as well as trees. There are no people depicted in the Hiyoshi Sannō, and the architectural expression does not seem necessarily accurate. For example, the angle of the roof and the shape of the rooftop are different. Even so, depicting Hiyoshi Sannō still suggests that this was understood as one of the major landmarks of Edo sacred sites.

A recently rediscovered *Edo Tenka Matsuri Zu byōbu* depicts Hiyoshi Sannō and its festival. Kuroda Hideo closely examined the background of this *byōbu*.[404] Kuroda argues that, because of how the Hiyoshi Sannō festival procession route moves, he considers this to be a work portraying Edo castle and the major Tokugawa shogunate's relatives and closely associated attendants. Through the expression, he believes that one of the people portrayed at one of the Tokugawa relatives is Tokugawa Yorinobu 徳川頼宣 (1602-1671), son of Ieyasu. He therefore developed an argument that the painting was created in 1659, which is two years

[404] Kuroda Hideo, 2010. *Edozu byōbu no nazo wo toku*, Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten

after the Great Fire of Meireki.[405] Art historians such as Sakakibara argue that, through examining the detailed expression of Edo castle's inside structure, the date of this *byōbu* portraying the area is more likely to be just before the Great Fire of Meireki in 1656.[406]

When we look at the whole screen, we notice how little Hiyoshi Sannō is represented in the painting. Hiyoshi Sannō is portrayed in the upper right corner of the first panel of the right screen. (Figure 49)

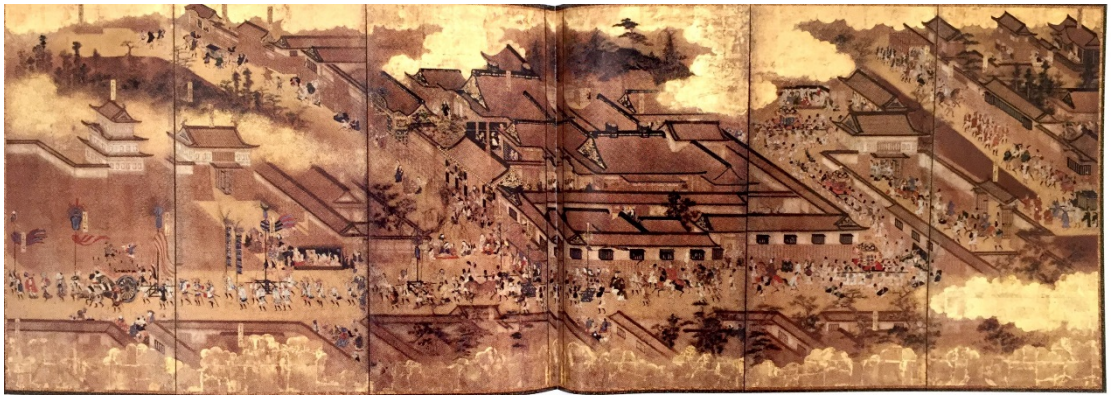

Fig. 49: *Edo Tenka Matsuri Zu byōbu* (c. 1659) right screen

Fig. 50: *Edo Tenka Matsuri Zu byōbu* (c. 1659) left screen

[405] Ibid., p.186

[406] Sakakibara Satoru, 1998. 'Edo tenka matsuri zu byōbu ni tsuite' In 1998. *Tokushū Edo tenka matsuri zu byōbu*, *Kokka vol.104 nr.1237*. Tokyo: Kokukasha, p.11-20

Fig. 51: *Edo Tenka Matsuri Zu byōbu*, close-up of Hiyoshi Sannō

Hiyoshi Sannō, which was moved in 1607 from inside of Edo castle to the western side of the castle, burned down in the Great Fire of Meireki. Alhough the shrine is portrayed in a defined manner, it is clear that depicting Hiyoshi Sannō was not the main focus in these screens. Instead, we can see that the main object of interest is the procession of the festival. As already discussed, this was also the case for works depicting Hiyoshi Taisha, where the main aim was to portray the festival rather than focusing on Hiyoshi Taisha itself. The Sannō festival procession goes without interruption and it also functions as a guide for the viewer's eye movement across the screen. Other temples are also not portrayed, which is quite unusual for works which used the city of Edo as a main subject around this time. Instead of ordinary peoples' houses and sacred sites, there are several daimyo mansions which seem accurately depicted in both screens, suggesting that this was the main reason why these screens were made. Interestingly, Edo castle's tower is placed in the same location Hiyoshi Sannō is depicted in the other screen on the first panel of the right upper section. This placement possibly indicates both the political and religious hierarchical order.

It is also noticeable that here Hiyoshi Sannō and its main hall are portrayed in a similar architectural style to how Hiyoshi Taisha is portrayed - under the style of *hiyoshi zukuri*, which can be seen in Figure 51. Also, Hiyoshi Sannō is not portrayed with many trees or hidden by trees, which was the case in the previously introduced images that portray Hiyoshi Sannō in Edo. When we look at images of Hiyoshi Taisha in Kyoto, we always see that the sacred site is depicted together with a vast number of trees, since it is located at the foot of Mt. Hiei. The lack of natural expression in Hiyoshi Sannō screens seems to have a symbolic meaning - that Edo started to transform Hiyoshi Sannō by removing the expression of trees and their overall appearance. There Hiyoshi Sannō, although it shares the same deity and same festival, was clearly increasing in importance as a sacred site within the city. To represent this rise in status, Hiyoshi Sannō is surrounded by daimyo mansions, with little sense of nature.

2.4.2.3 Mt. Atago

Mt. Atago is clearly represented in *Edozu byōbu* from the third panel to the fourth panel of the upper section of the left screen. (Figure 52)

Fig. 52: *Edozu byōbu* (after 1631 and before 1634) close-up of Mt. Atago

Mt. Atago here is expressed as Atagosan or Atagoyama, and many people enter to climb up the steps that lead the visitors to the main hall. This clearly does not reflect reality but is represented in an exaggerated and modified manner. We can see this through the number of steps. For example, Mt. Atago, as stated before, was damaged by fire in 1627. Since this screen is believed to be made and trying to portray Edo after 1631, this must be the rebuilt Atago shrine which was funded by the Tokugawa shogunate. A major part of the mountain itself is covered by evergreen trees, and people who are not visiting the mountain are separated by the canal. The building is also surrounded by golden clouds, which increases the effect of making this place sacred and give it a greater sense of distance from ordinary life on the streets.

Mt. Atago's territory extends towards the left, where it continues showing hilly geographical features together with the trees. Just above the golden cloud, where two rooftops represent almost the end of the territory's expression, there are nine rather odd objects portrayed in Figure 53.

Fig. 53: *Edozu byōbu* (after 1631 and before 1634) close-up of nine spheres

The symbolism of these items is difficult to suggest or understand. However, there appear to be nine standing spears, positioned bolt upright with red-coloured covers over each spear head. If these are indeed spears, it might well indicate the Tokugawa shogunate's

possession of the territory, through indicating a military symbol, though in order to understand fully, this needs further researching.[407]

It is also important to look at how Atago is portrayed in *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu*. There again, very interestingly the main hall of the shrine is covered under the golden clouds on the upper end of the sixth panel of the left screen.

Fig. 54: *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu,* c. 1642-1651, close-up of left screen

Mt. Atago is easy to identify because of its famous long steps and the gate to the main hall, which is surrounded by trees and the depictions of mountains and hills, like *Edozu byōbu*. However, *Edozu byōbu*'s representation of Mt. Atago, it is depicted during the autumn season, which can be observed by the red leaves on the maple trees. Not many people are visiting this

[407] These spears easily remind one of a story of the battle of Shizugatake in 1583 where Hideyoshi won a battle against his enemy, by that point it is said to be seven soldiers bearing spears who were later well known as key men to win the battle, but another story says there were nine men originally known, so this might be related to the symbolism behind it.

site in this screen, which is a great contrast to scenes of the area of Shiba on the foot of Mt. Atago. At Shiba, many different types of people are depicted, including a samurai group's procession, people having a bath, monks chanting and prostitutes enticing men. Atago is completely detached from these scenes of daily life by the golden cloud, creating the effect of considerable distance. It is also important to mention here that Kan'ei-ji, Hiyoshi Sannō and Atago are all shown on the upper half of the screen, just as Edo castle is portrayed. This seems to follow the understanding of the upper half of the screen painting which indicates holiness or power while the lower part indicates the secular world.

2.5 Conclusion

As this chapter has examined, the three mountains in Kyoto were without doubt copied in the newly emerged city of Edo. The relocation of these mountains to Edo was essential because the Tokugawa shogunate understood and shared the importance of the *genius loci* which is attached to these mountains, therefore they wanted to establish a city that would rival the historical capital of Kyoto by replicating these mountain landscapes. However, these copied Edo sites were not exact replications of the originals. For instance, Edo simply did not have any mountains of sufficient height, which made an exact replica of Kan'ei-ji and other mountains impossible. However, Tokugawa shogunate tried its best to pick the most suitable locations to make people associate the replicated site to the original mountains through its direction with its architectural features, through celebrating festivals and having to choose the geographically highest locations. When copying these locations, the shogunate may have referenced *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens because they portray the territories of Kyoto which are defied by these mountain landscapes. Unfortunately, for the Tokugawa shogunate, at the beginning of the 17th century they had to build much smaller scaled shrines in these replicated places, most likely because the city had just emerged from scratch. However, this was justified and likely even considered to be a natural process due to the widely practiced exercise of miniaturisation of nature.

The Tokugawa shogunate also invited the deities worshipped at the original sites in order to make certain that these newly copied sites had a connection with the same deities of the original sacred sites. This religious connection is also represented in paintings depicted in copied sacred spaces in Edo. In the case of Kan'ei-ji it portrays Ninai-dō or Jōgyō-dō that is a

unique building existing in Enryaku-ji at Mt. Hiei, and in the case of Hiyoshi Sannō it portrays the sacred monkey and Mt. Atago being portrayed as the highest mountain-like place.

Through making these mountain landscapes in Edo, the Tokugawa shogunate could demonstrate its message of overlapping Kyoto with their own territory and therefore it seems to be indicating the shogunates strong desire to appropriate the heritage of Kyoto as its own, and the paintings depict this.

CHAPTER 3: KIYOMIZU

3.1 Introduction

Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto has been an important religious site for a long time and different authorities within and before Tokugawa shogunate understood the value of the temple. Although it was perhaps not the most revered temple in Kyoto, because of its popularity amongst different people of the time, we can see that it greatly influenced the idea of replicating the Kiyomizu-dera in Edo as both Kiyomizu-dō within Kan'ei-ji and Kiyomizu at Koishikawa Kōrakuen. This chapter compares and contrasts these two religious sites as well as a quasi-religious site within a garden, and in doing so, will make clear how these three sites are related to each other both religiously and as a famous place, by authorities of the time. In order to understand the theoretical background of this idea to replicate a famous place, at first, *waka* tradition and its *honkadori* technique will be discussed. Secondly, the thesis will examine the concept of *utsushi* in order to understand the meaning behind the act of copying in these above sites. The thesis then examines these three sites from a historical and political perspective, by using visual materials as well as historical manuscripts. It will also examine the significance of the architecture, as well as consider the religious activities and beliefs associated with each site. In doing so, it aims to reveal Tokugawa shogunate's desire to copy a famous place in Edo.

There are some other temples in Japan which have the name of Kiyomizu-dera. In some cases, the name of the temple is pronounced 'Seisui-ji' using the same Chinese characters. These temples sometimes belonged to the Tendai sect and sometimes to the Shingon or other sects. Several claim their origin from Sakanoue no Tamuramaro, who is said to be the founder of Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto. However, since these temples do not either have a direct relationship with both Kiyomizu-dera and Kiyomizu in Edo or they are not located in these two cities, the thesis will not discuss or examine them.

3.2 Social Practice and Philosophy

3.2.1 Waka

Suzuki Kenichi explained the relationship between waka and the visual arts, saying that "both of them, by performing its own independent characteristics, exist by supporting each other".[408] He uses both chronological order and the shared and uncommon characteristics between these two different arts. He continues by explaining:

> "Waka creates a world that arouses various imaginations by an atmosphere which is made out of the language. Paintings create a world which is concrete with strong feelings that are aroused by icons".[409]

He uses examples in pictorial genres of *byōbu uta, shiki'e, tsukinami'e, meisho'e, kasen-e, ukiyo-e* and crafts to explain how these two arts support each other.[410] In his writings on *meisho'e*, he explains that visual art was created on the understanding of *utamakura* which elevates space or a location to the status of a special place, *nadokoro*, by using *Musashi no Zu byōbu.* This shows how the different art concepts link together and complement each other.

Fig. 55: *Musashi no Zu byōbu* (17th century) left screen

Suzuki states that this painting is based on an aesthetic representation of Musashino, which was already described in *waka* poems that came from *The Tale of Ise, Kokinshū* and other sources.[411]

[408] Suzuki Kenichi, 2006. 'Waka to kaiga ga deau toki' In *Waka wo hiraku vol. 3 waka no zuzōgaku*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, p.1
[409] Ibid., p.14-15
[410] For more detail refer to Suzuki Kenichi, 2006. 'Waka to kaiga ga deau toki'
[411] Suzuki Kenichi, 2006. 'Waka to kaiga ga deau toki', p.7-9

Nadokoro is a location used in *waka* poetry. Within *waka* it comes under the definition of *utamakura*. *Utamakura* has two meanings. The first is a broad definition as the vocabulary used in *waka* poetry making, and the second meaning is the method of identifying the location of the poem. From the end of the Heian period to the beginning of the Kamakura period, this second narrower definition is more commonly used.[412] Certain locations are directly and repeatedly connected to certain images or concepts. For instance, Yoshino in Wakayama prefecture is strongly linked to the images of cherry blossoms and snow.

This concept of *utamakura* became an important source of understanding when looking at Japanese paintings, most notably *yamato'e* paintings. When a mountain covered by cherry blossoms is depicted on screen paintings, this strongly suggests that the location is Yoshino. This is because the recipient has an understanding of this relationship between a location and a reputation or image, through their knowledge of prominent poems. This *utamakura*, outside of *waka* and only when referring to an actual site, is known as *nadokoro*. *Nadokoro* therefore are places that were described in classic *waka* poetry. There are numerous *nadokoro* in and around Kyoto, as most *waka* poems were composed by people who lived in Kyoto. However, when we look at Edo, there were only a few such sites, which is a difference further explored by Mizue Renko.

According to Mizue Renko, who researched early Edo *meisho* and *nadokoro*, at the beginning of the Edo period *nadokoro* needed greater recognition. This was achieved through *utamakura* which is a section of words that are used in poetry in order to highlight important and popular locations, as well as complete and enrich the poem. In this case, the only place in Edo which at that time possessed the qualifications to become a *nadokoro* was the Sumida River, which is introduced in *The Tale of Ise* and the Noh play *Sumida Gawa*.[413]

These *nadokoro* increased in importance over time, since many people who composed *waka* poetry desired to visit these locations in reality. When people started visiting these places, some of the locations became a type of 'tourist destination' for the general public. At that point *nadokoro* changed in name from *nadokoro* to *meisho*. *Meisho* has less of a connection with *waka* poetry, but focuses more on the popularity of the location itself. This is why guidebooks

[412] Okumura Tsuneya, 1977. *Utamakura*. Tokyo: Heibosha
[413] Mizue Renko, 1985.'Kinsei shoki no Edo meisho' In Nishiyama matsunosuke sensei koki kinenkai (ed.)*Edo no minshū to shakai.*Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p.3-33

for both descriptive and printed images are often called *meishoki*, which literally means 'records of *meisho*' instead of 'records of *nadokoro*'. It took nearly 70 years until the first major *Meishoki* about Edo, *Edo Meisho Zue,* was published, which is later than the first appearance of this kind in Kyoto, *Kyō Suzume* (1664). Interestingly, the author of *Edo meishoki,* Asai Ryōi (c. 1612-1691), was not originally from Edo, but from Kyoto. Asai and his son introduce the concept of popular locations from the perspective of Kyoto, as Kyoto already had many *nadokoro* and then *meisho*.[414]

Both Sasaki and Hiraoka analyse the characteristics of *nadokoro* in mid-17th century Edo by focusing on *Edo Meishoki*.[415] Asai Ryōi wrote *Edo Meishoki* based on *Kyō Warabe* which in 1658 was the earliest *meishoki* to introduce famous places of Kyoto. *Kyō Warabe* is one of the earliest guidebooks of Japanese famous sites and *Edo Meishoki* mainly focuses on Edo. These two guidebooks shared the technique of introducing famous places. Although, both books are guidebooks, they also take a form of literature where they often refer historical events related to sites. They also share the feature that the reader of these guidebooks can visualise the city while being in a completely different location.

As this book was published after the Great Fire of Meireki, which damaged about 70 percent of Edo in 1657, the book indicates the recovery as well as the prosperity of Edo. It consists of both paintings and *kyōka* poems, and 80 sites are introduced. According to Sasaki and Hiraoka, 65 of those 80 locations are either temples or shrines. In contrast, only three of the city's pleasure districts were cited.

Sasaki and Hiraoka conclude that trees were treated as an important phenomenon in the book, because when specific trees such as pine or cherry are used, it likely suggests that this place was considered to be a potential *meisho*: in 20 places, the names of trees were written down – and these were all either pine or cherry trees. The listed locations of *meisho* concentrate on the north-eastern side of Edo, especially for *meisho* depicted with trees. This is believed to be because of the geographical placements of both Kan'ei-ji and the Sumida river, which together provided this scenery. In addition, in the central part of Edo there were only a few

[414] James L. McClain, John M. Merriman and Ugawa Kaoru (1994) 'Edo and Paris' Jurgis Elisonas, *Notorious places*, London: Cornell University Press

[415] Sasaki Kunihiro and Hiraoka Naoki, 2002. 'Edo meishoki ni miru 17 seiki nakagoro no Edo no meisho no tokuchō' In *Shinshū Daigaku Nōgakubu Kiyō, Vol. 38 nr.1 and nr.2.* Tokyo: Matsumoto, p.37-44

sites named. They make an interesting note that the characteristics of *meisho* shifted from *nadokoro* as a place used in *utamakura* to a place that entertains visitors with the scenic view itself.[416]

As briefly discussed earlier, a poet, Fujiwara no Teika, was the person who theorised and introduced the idea of *honkadori* before it was elevated into art.[417] This has to be examined in detail as it contributes to understanding the mechanism of the act of copying which has been practiced in Japan after the 12th century up to at least the point where the thesis focuses on. Furthermore, through understanding this concept, it suggests the mentality not only behind the making of *waka* poetry, but also the act of copying religious sites. The general action that *honkadori* relates to is taking a part of a poem which has been written before and entwining it with the emotions and feelings of the new creator at that particular moment. The reader of *honkadori* is required to know the origin and the previous range of the poems in order to fully appreciate it. The satisfaction a reader feels when enjoying these types of poems is not derived from the *honkadori* itself, but the relationship between it and the previous writings including the original. Usually a direct quote is used from the original, which might sound like mere copying, yet this method is more of a continuation and enhancement of something that has been created previously into a metaphorical rollercoaster of words and emotions. When considering the fulfilment that the recipient is feeling, we can equate it with the similar musical term *fugue* which has been previously mentioned to describe the concept of 'copying'. This is likely to be the way educated people of the time appreciated *honkadori* poems.

David T. Bialock[418] uses an example of *honkadori* referring to Minamoto no Toshiyori (1055-1129), which cites a pair of poems by Ki no Tsurayuki and Kazan:[419]

Ie no sakura wo	A poem about
yomeru uta	the cherry blossom at my house

[416]Sasaki Kunihiro and Hiraoka Naoki, 2002. 'Edo meishoki ni miru 17 seiki nakagoro no Edo no meisho no tokuchō' In *Shinshu daigaku no gakubu kiyō vol.38 number 1 and 2*, p.38-43
[417] Senko K. Maynard, 2007. *Linguistic Creativity in Japanese Discourse: Exploring the Multiplicity of Self, Perspective, and Voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, p.37
[418]David T. Bialock, 1994. 'Voice, Text, and The Question of Poetic Borrowing in Late Classical Japanese Poetry' In *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 54, No. 1*. Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute, p.181-231
[419] Ibid., p.184

Waga yado no	Though it stands
mono narinagara	in my own garden,
sakura hana	I can do nothing to prevent
chiru woba e koso	the cherry blossoms
tondome zarikere	from scattering[420]

Tsurayuki

Waga yado no	Though the cherry tree stands
sakura nare domo	in my own garden,
chiru toki wa	when its blossoms scatter
kokoro ni e koso	it yields not at all
makase zarikere	to my heart's desire[421]

Kazan

Bialock agrees with Minamoto's argument that it is difficult to create a 'superior poem'. This is partly because new poems should not appear to be an exact imitation of the original poem to readers, as this is not in the spirit of *honkadori*. It also has to slightly alter the feeling that the original poem created, updating it for the current mood of the people. This combination of these two factors successfully creates a *honkadori* poem.[422]

This concept of *honkadori* is also used for Noh performances:[423] "One usual aspect of the traditional Japanese practise of allusion is the use of dispersed citations. The poet does not necessarily take intact lines from earlier poems; he may select words or phrases from a source and disperse them throughout a new poem."[424] This suggests that *honkadori* and its practice has been conducted other than making *waka* poems, but expanded to a broader field.

[420] Translated by Terumi Toyama
[421] Translated by Terumi Toyama
[422] Saying this, Bialock adds that although there can be rivalry between older poets and the 'current' ones in order to create a *hokadori* of a poem to witness its popularity, it was not intended in the concept of *honkadori*
[423] KarenBrazell, 1995. 'Citation on the Noh Stage' In *Extreme-Orient, Extreme-Occident 17, Le Travail Dela Citation en Chine et o Japon*. Montreuil: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, p.92-107
[424] Ibid., p.91-110

When making high quality poetry that could be cited at a later time, it was essential that the new poem was original and had a new feel to it, while following the strict rules and regulations of poetry composition. The base of expression in *waka* poetry is relying on already existing subjects which has been supported by authoritative figures.[425]

Cultured daimyo who composed *waka* poems at this time also used *honkadori.* These daimyo include Hosokawa Yūsai, who served the Ashikaga shogunate, Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu. Hosokawa was not only known for being a skilled warrior, but also as a multi-talented cultural elite who was awarded *Kokin Denju,*[426] which has only been presented to a few *waka* masters of the time.[427] His collection of poems was composed in the latter half of the 17th century. This collection is called *Shūmyō Shū* and it was read by various elites including Emperor Go-Mizunoo.[428] Although it was published in the second half of the 17th century, all the poems were composed before 1610. Hosokawa made various *honkadori* poems, for example:

Hinomoto no	The foundation of the sun/Japan
hikari wo misete	showing its light
haruka naru	Even in the distant
morokoshi mademo	lands of China
haruya tatsuran	spring has come[429]

This is a *honkadori* to this original poem:[430]

Kyō to ieba	In this day

[425]Kikuchi Yoshio, 2000. 'Ikai wo ou kei – kodai bungaku ni okeru yū no genri' In Nihon Bungaku Kyōkai *Tokushū wakani okeru 'yū' nihon bungaku vol. 49*. Tokyo: Nihon Bungaku Kyōkai, p.15-17

[426]Kokindenju is a permission which is given to only a few people of the time.It was given to masters of poetry who understood a specific way to interpret poems, especially classic poems of the *Kokin Wakashū*. There are several different schools which give this permission and these are mostly taught in strict confidentiality. More detail can be found in Yokoi Akio, 1980.*Kokin denju no shiteki kenkyū*. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten

[427] Kawase Kazuma, 1961. 'Kokin denju ni tsuite: hosokawa yūsai shoden no kirikami shorui wo chūshin toshte' In 1961. *Aoyama gakuin joshi tanki daigaku kiyō vol. 15*. Aoyama Gakuin Yoshi Tanki Daigaku, p.71-96

[428] Tsuchida Masao, 1968. 'Hosokawa Yūsai kashū no kenkyū sono ichi – denpon kaisetsu' In *Jōchi daigaku kokubungaku ronshū vol. 1*. Tokyo: Jōchi Daigaku, p.61-106

[429]Asukai M., 1671. Shūmyōshū. Tokyo: Koten Bunko

[430]Fujiwara Toshinari (1114-1204) *Shintei Shin Kokin Wakashū*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten

morokoshi mademo yuku haru wo	spring has come even to the distant lands of China
miyakoni nomito	though I thought that spring
omoikeru kana	had only reached the Capital

This poem is particularly interesting, because it reflects the environment by which Hosokawa was surrounded in 1592. Just before the poem starts, he writes a very short note stating that this poem was made on New Year's Day 1592, upon receiving a military order from Hideyoshi to invade China. While Shunzei's original poem has the characteristics of spring and states that the peak of life only exists in *Miyako*, Kyoto, this later poem demonstrates a strong will to bring this peak of life into China by sending troops. This is why Hosokawa used the word '*tatsuramu*' which literally means 'to establish'. The poem also refers to showing light which leads all the way to China, showing the military intent and a display of power.

Honkadori was practised continuously into the 17th century. This example from Den Sutejo (1634-1698) is a *honkadori*:

Kishikata wo	As I think
omoi omoeba	about the one I love
madoromanu	I cannot fall asleep
yumeno makurani	the autumn wind visits me
kayou akikaze	upon the pillow of dreams[431]

The above was made from a poem written by Princess Shokushi (1149-1201):

Kaerikonu	Tachibana
mukashi wo imato	whose scent is on the pillow of dreams
omoineno	where I lie awake thinking
yumeno makurani	is there no way

[431]Jōkannikō eigin In Nagasawa, M. ed., 1968. *Nyonin Waka Taikei, Vol 3*. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō

niou tachibana to make the past the present[432]

This practice of creating *waka* poems with the *honkadori* technique clearly indicates how important it was to refer back to a phrase used in existing poems at the time around the 17th century.

Around 1600, *honkadori* did not have any negative meanings or connotations. In fact, the people of the time highly appreciated *honkadori*, and that can be seen by Ieyasu's own hand-writing of one of the poems originally written by Fujiwara no Teika, which is a *honkadori* poem referencing the *Tale of Ise.* Ieyasu copied the poem word by word personally, indicating his appreciation of Teika's work which was mainly *honkadori* poems.

Fig. 56: *Tsuini Yuku Waka Tanzaku,* Tokugawa Ieyasu's own waka calligraphy

3.2.2 Utsushi

Introducing *chashitsu*, the tea ceremony room, and its process of reproduction in tea-making is useful to understand how the Japanese considered the replication of architecture. The replication of the tea ceremony room first appeared in the 16th century. Yamanoue Sōji (1544-1590), a tea master and a great merchant, studied tea ceremony under Sen no Rikyū

[432]Fujiwara Toshinari (1114-1204) *Shin kokinshū*

(1522-1591) who was the most significant and profound tea practitioner in the history of the Japanese tea ceremony.[433] In Yamanoue's private record, which is called *Yamanoue Sōji Ki*, he describes a drawing of a tea ceremony room which belonged to Takeno Jōō (1502-1555), another tea master. He writes about the directions, materials and the structure of this room, adding detailed descriptions of all the materials used in the room.[434] He also writes about other tea masters such as Murata Jukō and Torii Insetsu, in the context of the tea ceremony rooms, so that from the beginning it was understood that the tea ceremony room itself an important aspect in a tea ceremony. In this record, he also states that many tea practitioners including Sen no Rikyū copied their tea ceremony rooms from other sources, in particular the room of Takeno Jōō. When describing this action, he uses the word *utsushi*. This is likely to be the first time that the word, which literally means 'copy', is applied to architecture and specifically to the ceremony room. Right after this description of the master copying the tea ceremony room, he adds that the objects used in ceremonies were also copied by the people of both Kyoto and Sakai. Interestingly, *Yamanoue Sōji Ki* says that Rikyū did not design his own tea ceremony room, and until he reached the age of 61 in 1582 he was using Takeno Jōō's copied ceremony room for practising the tea ceremony.

In architectural terms, *utsushi* is "a traditional jargon or word to represent an act of making objects exactly the same as the original".[435] The object which is subjected to the copying process is known as *honka* 本歌.[436] This can lead us to confidently assume that the practice came from *waka* tradition and its theory of *honkadori*. The '*honka*' in '*honkadori*' has the same meaning. The act of *utsushi* and its relationship with *honka* tea ceremony rooms was not an exact replication of a building, but had the additional meaning of inheriting the spirit of tea masters and sharing the same aesthetic sense through replicating their master's ceremony room.[437] Regarding the mentality behind the action of copying or replication architecture, Yamato states that "the word '*utsushi*' means mimicking the original or taking a copy of an original document, this often includes the nuance of placing the original to the copy and therefore real to fake however, this modern sense of 'mogi'[438] only put an emphasis on the

[433] Kumakura Isao, 2006. 'Kaisetsu iyamanoue Sōji ki' In *Yamanoue Sōji kifu chawa shigetsu shū.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, p.327-360
[434] *Yamanoue Sōji Ki (*1586-1588)
[435] *Kenchiku daijiten 2nd edition,*1997. Tokyo: Shōkukusha, p.133
[436] Ibid., p.1557
[437] Yamato Satoshi, 1990. 'Chashitsu no ' utsushi'' In *Kenchiku zasshi, vol.105*. Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, p.40
[438] Imitation

difference between the original work and the imitated object. What is important in *utsushi* is this spirit which respects and reveres the original which exists behind the act of imitation." He continues, saying that "the recognition of the difference between real and fake is attenuated; instead it demands the recipient of the work to find a positive significance in their relationship."[439] Since the Edo period the aspect of parody became more popular however, practices like copying architecture that has a political importance including religious sites and tea ceremony rooms were not included in this popularisation of making parodies. This is because it was not only very costly to make them, but also it was too dangerous to both the commissioner and the artist, when authoritative figures associated these copied buildings to parodies. This understanding of the significance behind copied tea ceremony rooms is also supported by other scholars. Both Gotō Chika and Segutchi Tetsuo use *Taian*, a tea room, which is said to have been designed by Sen no Rikyū, as their example in studying how this tea ceremony room was copied throughout centuries.[440]

As *Yamanoue Sōji Ki* notes, tea ceremony tools were also replicated. These were not only copied because of their aesthetics, but also as a way of respecting the narrative attached to the original object. This way of viewing the relationship between the original and a copy was applied to tea ceremony rooms in the exact same manner.[441] When *utsushi* is made, while it is based on replicating *honka*, it is not built to be exactly the same as the original architecture. People who replicate *Taian* often change either a part of it or the material used. These were still considered *utsushi* and the people who built them also described them as *utsushi* of *Taian*.[442] Those who committed this act of copying are often descendant or on the line of the original creators of those original objects such as, tea masters and tea bowl makers. This suggests that upon the creation of replication, permission seemed to have happened. The people who committed the copying need some form of authority upon copying and this would be an interesting aspect when examining how authorities copied religious sites.

This happened not only to the *Taian* but also to other tea ceremony rooms. As an example, the *Jo-an*, which was built in 1618 at Kennin-ji temple in Kyoto, was designed and

[439] Yamato Satoshi, 1990. *Chashitsu no 'utsushi'*, p.41
[440] Gotō Chika and Seguchi Tetsuo, 2010. 'Kingendai no taian no utsushi chashitsu ni okeru keishō to soui ni kansuru kenkyū' In *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikakukei ronbunshū vol.75 nr.654*. Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, p.1855-1863
[441] Ibid., p.1860
[442] Ibid., p.1857-1862

built by Oda Nagamasu 織田長益 （1547-1622)[443] who was one of the younger brothers of Oda Nobunaga. Although this *Jo-an* is the most famous, the first *Jo-an* was built in Osaka. Oda Nagamasu represented the Oda family after Nobunaga's death and was treated with respect by Hideyoshi. Oda had a large house just north of Osaka castle and Hideyoshi visited the *Jo-an* to have tea together twice. Ieyasu was also friendly with Nagamasu. When Nagamasu left Osaka for Kyoto, just before the Siege of Osaka happened, his house belonged to one of Ieyasu's adopted sons Matsudaira Tadaakira 松平忠明（1583-1644). In 1615 Tōshō-gū was created at this former Nagamasu's house then a monk from Kennin-ji looked after the shrine. In 1635, *Jo-an* still existed, and when Iemitsu arrived at Osaka he stayed at this same location.[444] A book called *Teiyō shū*[445] made in 1710 describes Oda Nagamasu's style of making tea. It explains that, while all of these activities were taking place, the tea ceremony room was recreated to represent Oda Nagamasu's original tea ceremony room. This treatment of the tea ceremony rooms further confirms understanding the particular type of architecture and its political significance that it possesses even when it is a copied version.

Another record written by Hosokawa Tadaoki states that during the restoration of this tea room, although some of the stones were relocated to a different place, it was still made from the same material as the original stones. It is, however, unclear if the *Jo-an* in Kennin-ji temple, Kyoto, is a replication of the first *Jo-an* in Osaka. Oda Nagamasu's fame as a refined tea ceremony master led other tea practitioners to copy the Kennin-ji *Jo-an* in following generations. An example of this is *Ryōkaku-tei* at Ninna-ji temple, made by Ogata Kōrin 尾形光琳 (1658-1716). Compared to the *Jo-an* in Kennin-ji, *Ryōkaku-tei* uses slightly different material on the walls, but the basic structure is identical.[446]

When talking about *Nanpō Roku,* which addresses the act of *utsushi,* Nagashima states that from a philological point of view it is clear that this is not a book from the time of Rikyū".[447] Kumakura states that it is edited based on a previously existing book on the tea

[443]He is also known as Urakusai Jōan, Uraku and Oda Urakusai
[444]*Honkō kokushi nikki,* 25th day of the 7th month in 1635.
[445]Matsumoto Kenkyū (Originally published in 1710) *Teiyōshū* In Waseda daigaku Toshokan kotenseki sōgō data base. [Online] Available from: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/wo09/wo09_00629/ [Accessed: 23.05.15]
[446]Hosokawa Sansai, 1989. 'Godenju sho' In Nakamura Masao (ed.) 1989. *Sukiya koten shūsei vol.2 senkeryū no chashitsu.* Tokyo: Shōgakukan
[447]Nagashima Fukutarō, 1969. *Cha no koten*. Tokyo: Tankōsha, p. 158

ceremony published in 1680.[448] Hirota states that *Nanpō Roku* is widely believed to be the work of Nambo Sōke, a pupil of Sen no Rikyū. One part of this document was discovered in 1686 and the rest in 1690 by tea practitioner Tachibana Jitsuzan, who was also a top ranking samurai in the Fukuoka domain. He not only discovered it but also copied *Nanpō Roku* and made supplementary explanations.[449] It was considered to be a 'sacred' manuscript.[450] Even so, some scholars question the historical accuracy of this book, including Nagashima Fukutaro and Kumakura Isao. Hirota refers to Nishiyama Matsunosuke's view that modern researchers understand that *Nanpō Roku* reflects the tea practitioner's idealised vision of Rikyū, since this was believed to be made in 1690 – one hundred years after Rikyū died.[451] As a result, the document provides insight into how people in the late-17th century viewed the idea of the tea ceremony from the end of the 16th century.

In *Nanpō Roku*, there is a drawing of the architectural planning of the tea room which existed inside the Tōdai-ji compound. This plan has a description indicating that this is an *utsushi* of a famous tea ceremony room made by Murata Jukō 村田珠光 (1422-1502). This shows that people at the end of the 17th century still considered architectural copying to be significant, at least in the context of tea. Obviously, tea ceremony and therefore the making of the tea ceremony rooms had treated the previous generation so highly that some can consider this to be practiced only as a traditional thing which keeps doing the same thing over and over again. Although, that does not entirely reflect the whole tea practice and its attitude towards the past, there were many people who developed new ways and new styles of presenting tea ceremonies, such as Senno Rikyū's pupils. Yet, it is therefore very important to mention that they still committed the act of copying. This tendency to respect the copying of the tea ceremony room continued even into the 19th century. Matsudaira Harusato, better known as Matsudaira Fumai 松平不昧 (1751-1818), copied many tea ceremony rooms in his house.[452]

The idea or concept known as *mitate* could also be a useful tool to understand how people who lived in and around the 17th century saw these replications. According to Edmond

[448] Kumakura Isao, 1983. *Nanpōroku wo yomu*. Tokyo: Tankōsha
[449] Hirota Yoshitaka, 2011. 'Kingendai ni okeru nanbōroku no eikyōroku: Furo koicha, 'isshaku no mizu' no 'chano shinkosetsu' wo megutte' In *Kakutzan ronsō vol.11*. Kobe: Kakuzan Ronsō kankōkai, p.6
[450] Ibid., p.7
[451] Ibdi., p.6
[452] Asano Jirō and Fuji Eijirō, 1997. 'Wabichato roji (satei) no hensen ni kansuru shiteki kōsatsu – sonojū: matsudaira fumai no ōsakien' In *Chiba daigaku engeigakubu gakujutsu hōkoku, vol.51.* Chiba: Chiba University, p.103-119

de Goncourt, the definition of *mitate* is "literally 'likened'; recreations of well-known historical or mythological scenes, often playful or ironic."[453] Additionally, he states that "*mitate* can be defined very generally as a technique of allusivity which links figures coming from different cultural texts: a humble Edo maid is treated as an incarnation of Bodhisattva."[454]

There are a couple of definitions for *mitate* in a modern day understanding.

1. "To decide whether the subject is good or bad by seeing
2. A diagnosis by a doctor
3. Thoughts and ideas
4. In *waka*, *haiku* poetry or in other subjects expressing an object or any other forms as something that it is not in reality, or in other words – giving something a different meaning. And also the action that offers the viewer or recipient something they might have seen or known previously.
5. To lead someone out
6. An outlook of something"[455]

Obviously, when discussing this concept of *mitate* this thesis refers to the fourth definition. This is because other definitions do not match to how both this thesis and its topic or the subjects intended it to be understood.

Historically speaking, it was not until 1993 that scholars and researchers realised the importance of defining and drawing a line between *mitate* and *yatsushi,* which is something of a confusing concept.[456] Asano's definition of the concept at the mid-18th century is that *mitate* has to have similarity in form. Subject 'A' is imitated, modelled on or compared to another subject 'B' which is completely irrelevant and independent, yet the similarity is there. At this point, there is no clear link between 'A' being based on the original source and being elegant and 'B' being the present day and considered to be popular or common.[457] Since this thesis

[453] Edmond De Goncourt, 2014. *Hokusai*. New York: Parkstone International, Glossary
[454]Nina Cornyetz. J. Keith Vincent (ed.) 2010. *Perversion and Modern Japan: Psychoanalysis, Literature, Culture.* London: Routledge, p.204
[455]Matsumura, A. (2006) *Daijirin, 3rd edition*, Tokyo: Sanseidō Shoten
[456]Shindō Shigeru, 2008. ''Mitate to' yatsushi no teigi' In Kokubungaku kenkyū shiryōkan (ed.) *Zusetsu 'mitate to' yatsushi – nihon bunka no hyōgen gihō*. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, p.111
[457]Asano Shūgō, 2005.'Furyū no zōkei, nazoraeru sousa – 'mitate' to yatsushi to sono shūhen' In Sato Yasuhiro (ed.) *Kōza nihon bijutsushi vol. 3 zuzō no imi.* Tokyo: Tokyo University, p.205-233

focus is on how people in the second half of the 16th century to the first part of the 17th century understood the act of copying as well as how they apply it in order to legitimise the authorities rule through copying sacret places, it would leave *mitate* and *yatsushi* not to be clearly defined. This thesis would use *mitate* as to explain the mechanism behind the replication of sacred spaces in Japan during the given time frame.

However, there is another definition of the concept which is not explained in detail, and this is the idea of *fūryū*. The concept of *fūryū* can be understood as transforming something into a present day version, while *mitate* is the connection between two irrelevant and unrelated subjects. *Fūryū* has the nuance of making an old subject up to date. This word in the mid-18th century was often combined with the word *yatsushi*, which is a concept to make an elegant thing into a popular subject which automatically loses its original elegance. Certainly, to make something *furyū* it is inevitable that the subject or subjects have an aspect of parody or mockery. It is quite difficult to clearly prove whether things that were copied from Kyoto into Edo, that this thesis focuses on, have these parodic aspects, since there has been no literature that clearly states this attitude towards the copied ones. However, since considering these copied sites were mainly planned and led by authority, taking unserious attitude towards these copied objects would be likely understood as a threat or an insult against the regime. Therefore, it would be more natural to understand that these copied sacred sites were meant to be understood seriously.

3.3 Kiyomizu-dera

First of all, we will consider Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto. As well as Kōryū-ji and Kurama-dera, Kiyomizu-dera is one of the few temples to have a history beginning before the Heian period. There are various historical books mentioning the origins of Kiyomizu-dera, such as *Konjaku Monogatari Shū*[458] and *Fusō Ryakki.*[459] In these texts, the site for Kiyomizu-dera, especially the location of Otowa no Taki, the 'waterfall of Otowa', was considered to be a sacred place even before the construction of the temple. In order to understand the importance of the *honzon,* the main worshiped figure, at Kiyomizu-dera, which will be discussed later in

[458] Mid 12th century, *Konjaku Monogatari shū* can be seen in 1967. Kurosaka, K. (ed.)Kokushi Taikei: Konjaku Monogatari shū. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan

[459] Late 11th century. *Fusō Ryakki* can be seen In 1966. Kokushi Taikei: fusō ryakki vol. 12. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan

this Chapter, the historical development of this temple will be explained here. According to these manuscripts, in 778, a monk called Kenshin visited a sacred font and finally reached Mt. Otowa, where today's Kiyomizu-dera stands. Another monk, Gyōei Koji, trained at the same location. He is sometimes regarded as the embodiment of Kannon, the Buddhist deity Avalokitêśvara or God of Mercy and Compassion. Kannon is one of the famous guardian Buddhist deities. Kannon is a Buddhist deity who appears if people recall that name when they face suffering, and offers a helping hand to them. As such, the area gained a strong degree of fame and popularity. One day, Gyōei Koji said to Kenshin that he will start on a journey east, and shortly thereafter left Mt. Otowa. After the departure of Gyōei Koji, Kenshin carved an image of Kannon from the block of sacred wood that Gyōei Koji had left behind, and then enshrined it in the *sōan* 'small hut'. This is the widely accepted story about the establishment of Kiyomizu-dera.[460]

When Kenshin was training and repeatedly praying for Kannon near the waterfall of Otowa, Sakanoue no Tamuramaro 坂上田村麻呂 (758-811) stopped by there while he was on one of his hunting expeditions. He was hunting deer because the animal's liver was often used for medical purposes and his wife, who would soon be giving birth, was in need of it. However, he learnt of the sinfulness of cruelty through Kenshin. He taught this story to his wife, and shortly thereafter they both took refuge with Kenshin. Tamuramaro and his wife offered their house to construct a temple of Mt. Otowa. Tamuramaro not only contributed to the establishment of the temple itself, but also told the emperor of the existence of Kenshin. As a result, Kenshin officially entered the priesthood, and changed his name to Enchin.

In 798, the construction of the halls was completed and the history of Kiyomizu-dera began. From these stories, we can see how Kiyomizu-dera became recognised as a sacred spot. As mentioned above, before the construction of Kiyomizu-dera, what aroused people's religious interests was the existence of Mt. Otowa and its waterfall. More precisely, the clear water of Otowa was the object of worship, and this water was called *Seisui* or *Kiyomizu* (the clear water). Moreover, the story of Kenshin (later known as Enchin) symbolizes the beginning of belief in Kannon, and the meeting of Gyōei-koji and Kenshin alludes to the meeting of belief in Kiyomizu and Kannon which eventually established Kiyomizu-dera as a religious site

[460] *Kiyomizu-dera,* Otowasan Kiyomizudera. Official Website, 2011. [Online] Available from: http://www.kiyomizudera.or.jp/about/history.html [Accessed: July 18th 2015]

worthy of a commemorative structure. Therefore, the combination of the belief in Kannon and the waterfall of Otowa attracted not only religious people but also ordinary people. Central belief in Kannon did not remain with only Kiyomizu and Kannon, but expanded to include belief in Tamuramaro from warriors and belief from women.[461] Religious belief at Kiyomizu will be discussed later in the thesis.

One of the most intriguing characteristics of Kiyomizu-dera is found in its architectural style, *kakezukuri*, which literally means 'overhanging architectural' style.

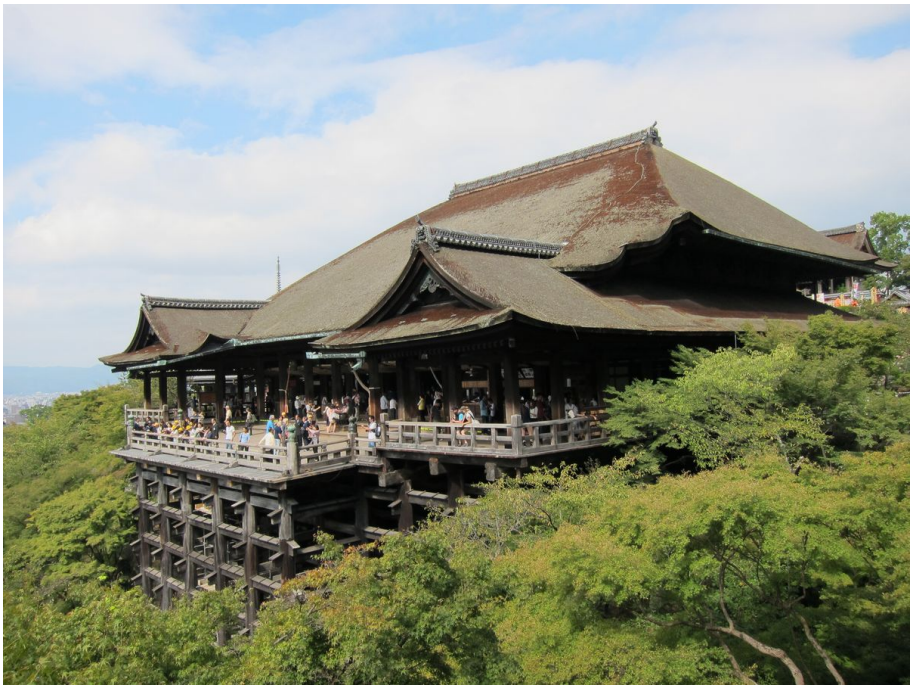

Fig. 57: *Kiyomizu-dera*, present day photograph

It is a style in which the wooden building rests against the rock and cliff, and a part of its floor is supported by long wooden columns. There are a few examples of this architectural style, though we can find the same attributes in places such as at Hase-dera in Nara Prefecture and Ishiyama-dera in Shiga Prefecture.

[461] Kiyomizuderashi Hensan Iinkai, 1995. *Kiyomizudera shi 1 : kaiso sen-nihyakunen kinen*. Kyoto: Otowasan Kiyomizudera, p.104-118

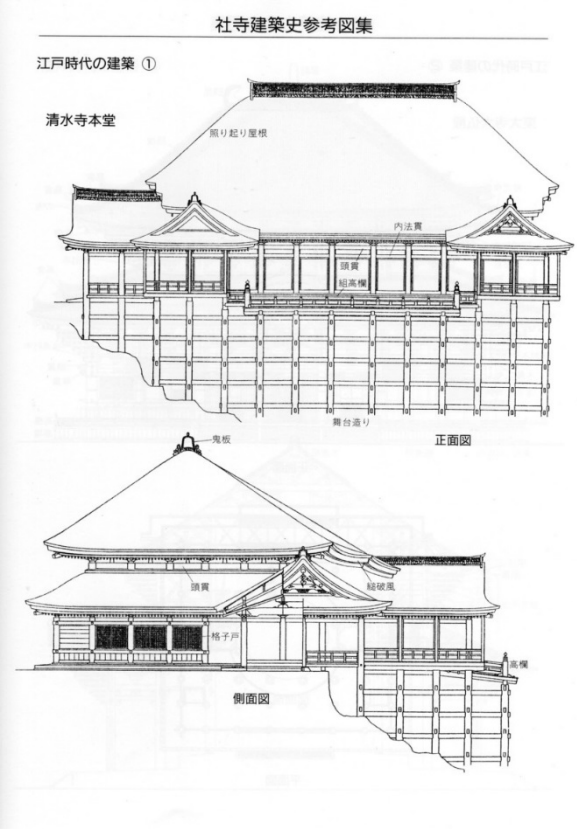

Fig. 58: The plan of Kiyomizu-dera

The common feature of these three religious sites is that, although they do not belong to the same Buddhist sect, the *honzon* (main worship object) of these three religious sites is Kannon.

This *kakezukuri* style is found only in religious architecture in Japan, and there are two main reasons for this. The first is due to its structural issue: as *kakezukuri* requires the architecture to be situated on a physically steep site, it requires and limits the possibility of finding an ideal location. Building in the *kakezukuri* style requires a higher cost of construction and demands a larger number of labourers than building on a flat surface. Secondly, *kakezukuri* has a close connection to belief in Kannon. Kannon is often associated with *Fudaraku*, or *Potalaka* in Sanskrit, which is a mountain that is believed to be in the southern direction of India where Kannon dwells. Because in Japan this Fudaraku mountain is also believed to be located in a southern direction, it requires the architecture to be facing the south. Due to the association with this sacred mountain, mountain sides became popular places for building temples. Doing this gave people access to a much more open view, helping them imagining that their wish travelled to Mt. Fudaraku.

To support this argument, it is worth considering Kiyomizu-dera's senior head temple, Kōfuku-ji, where they also worship Kannon, and where they built an octagonal Buddhist hall which is believed to be the shape of Mt. Fudaraku.

When the history of Kiyomizu-dera is discussed, it is important to mention Jishu-jinja, the tutelary or protective shrine just next to Kiyomizu-dera. In *Kanginshū*, a series of songs collected in the Muromachi period, the prizing of cherry blossom viewing sites in Kyoto as places of scenic beauty is the main subject. Gion-sha, Kiyomizu-dera, the waterfall of Otowa and Jishu-jinja were mentioned together in the same song. Nowadays, Jishu-jinja is independent and worshipped as a Shinto shrine. However, before the separation of Shinto and Buddhism at the beginning of the Meiji period, Jishu-jinja was called Jishu Gongen-sha, and it was under the authority of Kiyomizu-dera. It is still located at the back of the *hondō* (main hall) of Kiyomizu-dera, and it occupies an important position at Kiyomizu-dera today.[462]

Over time, Kiyomizu-dera was damaged several times by fire. This occurred a total of nine times, but in this thesis only the most devastating ones will be mentioned. In one instance, Mt. Hiei attacked Kiyomizu-dera which at the time was under the control of Kōfuku-ji, Gion-sha. In the process of the attack in 1165, which was first caused by territorial dispute between Kiyomizu-dera and Gion-sha, Kiyomizu-dera burned down on the ninth day of the 8th month in 1165.[463] It would appear that Kiyomizu-dera was restored, yet the dispute between Mt. Hiei at Gion and Kiyomizu continued.

In the diary of Fujiwara no Teika,[464] he writes that mountain monks entered the Gion shrine to discuss burning down Kiyomizu-dera, and those at Kiyomizu then tried to protect themselves by staying inside the territory of the Kiyomizu-dera compound. There is no record to indicate what this 'castle' really looked like, but a direct confrontation did not occur. As such, the next devastating disruption at Kiyomizu-dera did not take place for another 200 years.

In 1469, Kiyomizu-dera was set on fire by Hosokawa Katsumoto 細川勝元 (1430-1473), who was one of the main figures in the Ōnin war. This was caused due to Hosokawa's opponents staying in and around the Kiyomizu-dera which made it a target. This time,

[462] Ibid. p.344-346
[463] Tōin Kinkata, *Entairyaku*
[464] Fujiwara no Teika (1911) *Meigetsu ki.* Tokyo: Toshokankōkai, 3rd day of the 8th month, 1213

Kiyomizu-dera was restored by Jishū sect monk Gan'ami 願阿弥 (unknown-1486). Prior to this restoration project, Gan'ami was known as a man who was closely connected with Ashikaga Yoshimasa, the 8th Muromachi shogun. Imatani explains that this restoration was made because of the importance of Kiyomizu-dera's geographical location: it leads to Nara and is close to Tōkaidō. Since many people lived around Kiyomizu at that time, the city managed to survive by receiving food from visitors to Kiyomizu-dera. This is why, although Gan'ami had faith in the Jishū sect, he participated in the rebuilding process of Kiyomizu-dera which was of a completely different sect.[465]

The final and most devastating fire happened in 1629.[466] At that time, with the exception of structures such as the *Niōmon* (Gate), *Shōrō* (bell-tower), *Umadome* (horse parking place), the pagoda of Koyasu and Kasuga-sha, all of the halls burned down. Because of the massive scale of the fire, there was a rumour that the *honzon*, or the main worshipped figure, had also been destroyed. To disprove this rumour, Kiyomizu-dera decided to exhibit the temple's *honzon*, the thousand armed Kannon, which had been kept secret for hundreds of years.[467] At the time of Kiyomizu-dera's final fire, the relationship between the Imperial Court and the shogunate was deteriorating because of *Shie Jiken*, the shogunate's recent demonstration of their political power over the Imperial court in 1627. This event that causes great disharmony between the Court and the Shogunate dates back as early as 1613 when the Tokugawa shogunate announced a law which writes that certain consideration towards the Tokugawa shogunate needs to be made when the emperor gives permission to a monk to wear a specific robe that only the highest ranked priests could wear. Although the law was issued, Emperor Go-Mizunoo didn't consult with the Shogunate and had given permission to wear these robes for more than 10 monks. The Shogunate took action against the court in 1627 under Tokugawa Iemitsu's reign, to declare that many of these permissions are not valid. Monks such as Takuan Sōhō (1573-1646) and Hakuho Eryō (1543-1628) complained about the Shogunates decision together with the Court. However, the Shogunate reacted against these high priests and sentenced them to banishment. As a likely result, Emperor Go-Mizunoo abdicated in 1629 which was shortly after this Shogunates decision of banishment, but it symbolises the Shogunates supremacy over the court's permission.

[465] Ibid.
[466] Shoku Kōnendai Ryakuki In Kokusho Kankō Kai. ed., 2013. *Zokuzoku Gunsho Ruijū, Vol. 2*. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten
[467] Kiyomizuderashi Hensan Iinkai, 1997. *Kiyomizudera shi vol. 2.* p.15

To repair this relationship, Iemitsu ordered the reconstruction of Kiyomizu-dera. This was an extremely strong declaration of the shogunate's support for Kyoto. It is possible to say that this is more than a simple conservation or religious devotion to a sacred site; it was an action that aimed to create a peaceful relationship between the shogunate and the Imperial Court. Eventually, this reconstruction became regarded as the symbol of cooperation between the Imperial Court and the shogunate.[468] In addition to building a firm relationship, it is said that the personal belief of Iemitsu was also an important factor in the quick decision to reconstruct the temple.[469]

Iemitsu's faith in Kiyomizu-dera, which is pointed out by Shimosaka Mamoru, cannot be firmly confirmed as there is no record that Iemitsu visited Kiyomizu-dera when he was in Kyoto. However, we do know that Nobunaga secured the territorial possession of Kiyomizu-dera in the mid-16th century, which was reconfirmed by Hideyoshi. This territorial status was acknowledged by Ieyasu when he took over the control of Kyoto in the early 17th century, by issuing a shogunal letter. When the Toyotomi clan was destroyed in 1615, Hidetada also claimed the territory of Kiyomizu-dera.[470] It is unsurprising that political figures paid attention to controlling Kiyomizu-dera through giving territorial approval.

Further emphasising the connection between the Tokugawa clan and Kiyomizu-dera, when Iemitsu became ill, the Tokugawa shogunate ordered Kiyomizu-dera to conduct rituals to pray for his recovery.[471] The Tokugawa shogunate also ordered Kiyomizu-dera to welcome Korean ambassadors when they arrived at Kyoto in 1655. Kiyomizu-dera received a letter by Itakura Shigemune to welcome the ambassadors. In the letter, it is also stated that they came to view Daibutsu as well, which obviously means the Great Buddha at Hōkō-ji.[472]

In 1631, Iemitsu gave the order to rebuild Kyoto Kyō Kiyomizu-dera.[473] This was about six months after the enthronement of Empress Meishō 明正天皇 (1624-1696), whose father was Emperor Go-Mizunoo and mother was Tokugawa Kazuko 徳川和子 (1607-1678).[474]

[468]Ibid.,p.10-13
[469]Ibid., p.16-17
[470]Kiyomizuderashi Hensan Iinkai, 1997. *Kiyomizudera shi vol. 2.* Kyoto: Otowasan Kiyomizudera, p.94
[471]*Jōju-in Monjo.* the 8th day of the 4th month 1651
[472]Ibid*.,* the 12th day 8th month 1655
[473]*Tokugawa Jikki.* 2nd day of the 2nd month of 1631
[474] Also known as Tokugawa Masako and Tōfuku Mon`in

Tokugawa Kazuko had a good relationship with Emperor Go-Mizunoo, and contributed money to maintain the relationship between the Imperial family and the Tokugawa shogunate. Kazuko seemed to support this restoration project ordered by Iemitsu, as an inner temple of Jōjuin was restored through her donation. The reconstruction project was completed in 1633[475] by the shogunate, and the basic structure retained the same *kakezukuri* style as before. This has quite a symbolic meaning when we think of, not only Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto, but also Kiyomizu-dō in Edo, because of the Tokugawa's involvement in the restoration of the Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto which they also subjected to copy in their territory, Edo.

As mentioned above, Kiyomizu-dera is one of the most popular religious sites in Kyoto among ordinary people. It has been said that as the building itself, its garden and the exhibited object are as attractive as other religious sites and their gardens and their exhibited objects, it can be heavily implied that this popularity does not exist solely because of impressive visuals. It is thought that belief in Kannon played an important role in attracting ordinary people.

Buddhism used to be the religion of the nation and used to pray for the security of the state. However, it had become more focused on the welfare of the individual over time, and more emphasis was placed on happiness in the next world. In addition to the basic changes in the attitude toward Buddhism, belief in Kannon changed at the same time. In accordance with the development of the Jōdo sect, people wished to die peacefully by escaping from the suffering of *rokudō rinne* (transmigration in the six worlds). This belief, through Kannon worship, rapidly became popular and permeated noble society. At that time, it became popular to visit temples where Kannon was the *honzon*, such as Hase-dera, Ishiyama-dera and Kiyomizu-dera.[476]

In addition to the characteristics of Kannon belief stated above, we can observe a different aspect of Kannon belief in the later period. In the *Uji Shūi Monogatari,* written in the Kamakura period, and *Otogi Zōshi,* written in the Muromachi period, we can find a story which suggests that, by praying in the temple, childless couples will be blessed with a baby. In other stories, it is written that people will meet their future wife or husband if they worship at a temple with Kannon as *honzon*. Moreover, some stories told that people would also experience

[475] Although some of other religious structures had to wait for some more years e.g. Jōju-in was rebuilt in 1639
[476] Kiyomizuderashi Hensan Iinkai, 1995. *Kiyomizudera shi 1 : kaiso sen-nihyakunen kinen*, p.150-159

a ‘destined meeting’ in areas around Kiyomizu-dera, such as Ushiwakamaru and Benkei.[477] From these historical epics, we can say that the characteristic of belief in Kannon changed with times, but the character of this worldly profit has not changed consistently. These beliefs were especially prominent among ordinary people.

One other important religious belief related to Kiyomizu-dera is the belief in *fudaraku tokai*. From early times, there were people who believed in the existence of *Fudaraku Mountain,* which is in a way similar to Mt. Shumi and Mt. Hōrai, which has already been discussed in the previous chapter. It is recorded that Gyōei-koji and Kenshin had trained with the dream of embodying the world of Kannon and its world of *fudaraku* under the waterfall. *Fudaraku tokai* is a Japanese concept which means ‘across the ocean to reach the *fudaraku*’*,* where it was believed that Kannon lived. Throughout East Asia, especially in China, Japan and Korea, Kannon was believed to be the goddess of the ocean. In the Heian period, as the Jōdo sect became popular, the Kannon belief came to have another worldly association as well. With the idea of spreading peaceful thoughts about death and what happens to a spirit after the body dies, Kannon started to be recognised as the successor to Amidabha Tathagata. Therefore, because of Kannon’s association with Amidabha Tathagata and the Western Paradise, it is possible to think that *fudaraku* is a desirable place for the spirits of those who have passed away. *Fudaraku* belief plays an important role in explaining *kakezukuri*. Temples dedicated to Kannon face south, which is the direction that was often historically regarded as the direction in which the ocean and the port existed in Japan. Following this assumption, it is possible to think that the terrace of Kiyomizu-dera was designed to represent the port where a journey to *fudaraku* began.[478] Therefore, we can postulate that the combination of the belief in Kannon and *fudaraku* attracted people to Kiyomizu-dera for a long time.

How this religious institution, together with its site, was understood by people of the time will be questioned further. Kiyomizu-dera, from its beginning, became a popular destination to visit for the people of Kyoto. In *Makura no Sōshi*, known in English as *The Pillow Book*, written by Sei Shōnagon in the beginning of the 11th century, Kiyomizu is already mentioned as ‘a lively place’. Kiyomizu-dera also appeared in other works of literature, such as *The Tale of Genji* and *The Tale of Ise* in the Heian period. The continuous popularity of this

[477] Ibid., p.225-259
[478] Kanno Tomikazu, *Kannon Jōdo Fudaraku-Umi to Yama no Shinkō.* Bunkaken website [Online]Available from: http://www.bunkaken.net/index.files/raisan/fudaraku/tokoyo1.html [Accessed: 12th January 2015]

temple can be observed in the number of descriptions appearing in other literary sources, such as *The Tale of the Heike* or *Tsurezuregusa* in the Kamakura period. Nōgaku musical performances also feature Kiyomizu-dera, such as Saigyō Sakura, Kagetsu, Yugyō Yanagi, Buaku and Hana Nusubito. The appearance of the genre *Otogizōshi*[479] in the same Muromachi period uses the location of Kiyomizu-dera quite frequently. Such examples include *Itozakura no Monogatari, Kannon no Honji*, *Kuchiki Zakura, Sumizome Zakura, Tsukikage* and others. And, as a natural continuation, Kiyomizu appeared in *waka* poems. Muromachi poet Shōtetsu 正徹 (1381-1459) wrote the following:

Otowayama	The mount Otowa
taki no nagare mo	At its stream of waterfall
nani takaki	Is widely known
shimizu mo kiyoki	The clear waters are pure
hōno tera kana	A temple of Buddhist law [480]

Kiyomizu-dera is also mentioned in the anthology of *waka* poems called *Kokin Wakashū* and other *waka* sources. The popularity of Kiyomizu-dera also meant it became a place for the composition of *waka* poems. This side of it already existed in the Muromachi period, and since this period, *waka* composition became an annual event at the temple. Yamaji Kōzō states that this took the form of *honshiki rengakai,* which continuously resulted in more poems created by members who joined this event. Every 30th day, this event took place at Kiyomizu-dera, and in the early Kamakura period this became quite a popular practice.[481] This tradition existed before and after Kiyomizu-dera burned down in 1629, and one can observe that Kiyomizu-dera already functioned as *meisho*.

Although Kyoto experienced century-long turmoil and disruption including the Ōnin war in the 15th century, when Kyoto restored its order from the second half of the 16th century, most notably with the support of Hideyoshi, people once again started visiting Kiyomizu-dera. From a foreigner's point of view, Gaspar Vilela, who visited Japan in 1567, in his description

[479] It is a collection ofoften religious tales created in the 15th to the 16th century. Some later added illustrations, became a popular medium for many Japanese.
[480] *Sōkon shū*. 1473. Translation made by Terumi Toyama
[481] Kiyomizuderashi Hensan Iinkai, 1997. *Kiyomizudera shi vol. 2.* Kyoto: Otowasan Kiyomizudera, p.199-212

states that Kiyomizu-dera was considered as one of the seven wonders of Kyoto. He also writes about how beautiful the surrounding area is and mentions that, in his opinion, it has the best tasting water in Japan.[482]

At the end of the 9th month of 1568 Nobunaga took Ashikaga Yoshiaki 足利義昭 (1537-1507), the head of Kōfuku-ji temple, into Kyoto to make him the next Ashikaga shogun. It was also the time that Nobunaga had control over Kyoto. Kiyomizu-dera was controlled by Kōfuku-ji and Yoshiaki visited it. This action suggests the combination of political, religious and military aspects which Kiyomizu-dera possessed. Since other sources indicate that the area was already a popular place to visit, this was a symbolic gesture to the people in Kyoto to introduce the future shogun. Kiyomizu-dera remained a popular place after the departure of Yoshiaki. The diary of courtsman Yamashina Tokitsugu frequently describes this temple's popularity, and in the 1570s he visited Kiyomizu-dera several times.[483] This further confirms Kiyomizu-dera's popularity at least since the late 16th century.

Kiyomizu-dera was also appreciated as a site for viewing cherry blossoms. One of the first appearances of this status in literature is known as *Kiyomizu-dera Hanami Ki,* which was written by poet Nonoguchi Ryūho 野々口立圃 (1595-1669) in the Kan'ei period. He states that the cherry blossoms at Kiyomizu were the best amongst other cherry blossoms in the capital.[484] Later in 1658, the first guidebook of Kyoto called *Kyō Warabe* was written in Japan. In this guidebook, through introducing various poems which talk about Kiyomizu-dera, it is explained that Kiyomizu-dera was a place devoted to Kannon. The book also commented on the Buddhist virtue of Kannon that makes even the withered tree flourish with cherry blossoms. According to Tsukamoto Akihiro, there were eighteen major guidebooks that focused on the city of Kyoto after *Kyō Warabe.* Kiyomizu-dera is one of the few sites that consistently appear in these guidebooks. He also says that these sites became core *meisho.*[485]

The Higashiyama area, which includes temples such as Kiyomizu-dera, Gion-sha, Chion-in and later Kōdai-ji, was in one way understood as an area which includes part of the

[482] Michael Cooper (ed.) 1995. *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640*, p.342
[483] *Tokitsugu Kyō Ki*e. g. see the 8th day of the 2nd month of 1570 and the 27th day of the month of 1571
[484] Kiyomizuderashi Hensan Iinkai, 1997. *Kiyomizudera shi vol. 2.* Kyoto: Otowasan Kiyomizudera, p.319
[485] Tsukamoto Akihiro, 2006. 'Kinsei Kyoto no meisho annaiki ni egakareta bano kūkanteki bunpu to sono rekishiteki hensen'In *JIS-riron to ōyō vol.14 nr.2*.Tokyo: Chirijōhō Shisutemu Gakkai, p.48

mountain of Higashiyama. In another way it is connected with the city's main area of both entertainment and sex, which stretched to the eastern side of the Kamo River. Therefore, for many people who visited Kiyomizu-dera, it was one of the closest places they could experience both its view and nature, which was rapidly disappearing within the central part of Kyoto city. This contributed to the popularity of Kiyomizu-dera. This understanding of a temple functioning not only as a place of worship, but also as a place of entertainment, is also confirmed by the research conducted by both Demura Yoshifumi and Kawasaki Masashi[486] using an example of Gion-sha from the medieval to the late Edo period.

3.4 Kiyomizu-dō

As previously stated, Kiyomizu-dera was copied into Edo. This copied piece of architecture in Kan'ei-ji is called Kiyomizu-dō.

Fig. 59: *Kiyomizu-dō,* present-day photograph

The word *dō* in Japanese tends to indicate a structure smaller in size than *dera* or *tera*, meaning a temple. As the name suggests, the size of Kiyomizu-dō is a lot smaller than the

[486]Demura Yoshifumi and Kawasaki Masashi, 2004. 'Kinsei no Gion-sha no keikan to sono shū-i tono rensetsu ni kansuru kenkyū' In *Doboku keikaku gaku kenkyū ronbun shū vol.21 nr.2*. Tokyo: Doboku Gakkai

original Kiyomizu-dera. Kiyomizu-dō was completed in 1631, which was the same year when the Daibutsu was completed. It is no coincidence that the date of the new site's completion was close to the final fire at Kiyomizu-dera. Shortly after the great loss of Kiyomizu-dera's main hall in 1629, the abbot Tenkai and the Tokugawa shogunate began a project to make a copy in Kan'ei-ji. The temple complex is located on one of the highest hills in Edo, and Kiyomizu-dō was situated at the highest possible altitude in the temple compound.

Before Kiyomizu-dō is examined, it is important to understand the city planning of Edo in the early 17th century, which is previously mentioned in the thesis, of which the most important and influential decisions were made between the 1590s and the 1630s. It is said that Edo was planned to emphasise the authority of the shogunate.[487] The city was planned in accordance with geomantic principles, and was intended to create equilibrium between the order of cosmos and the Tokugawa family.[488] After the Great Fire of Meireki in Edo in 1657, the city administration changed its policy regarding city planning. After the fire, the administration put a halt to new building projects and started concentrating on keeping the city safe. This change in attitude and policy suggests that the shogunate had altered its priorities.[489] Therefore, it is possible to say that the first half of the 17th century was the most important period of city planning in Edo in terms of the Tokugawa shogunate's aim to project their legitimacy through city planning. During this period, Kiyomizu-dō was constructed in Kan'ei-ji as part of the the shogunate's attempt at bostering its image and legitimising its authority.

There is evidence that suggests that this is a copy of Kiyomizu-dera from Kyoto, such as the names of the Tōeizan itself, which is already mentioned in Chapter 2. Other buildings which must logically be a copy of architecture from Kyoto will be mentioned further in the following chapter on Daibutsu. However, almost no research exists on Kiyomizu-dera and its specific relationship with this Kiyomizu-dō. This section focusing on Kiyomizu-dō pays particular attention to not only its architectual similarities but also the connection between Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto and Kiyomizu-dō in Edo. This will be done by looking at the situation through Tenkai's position, as well as analysing the main figure of worship.

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[487] Ōishi Manabu, 2002. *Shuto edo no tanjō – ōedo wa ikanishite tsukurareta noka*. Tokyo: Kanokawa Shoten, p.98-140

[488] William H.Coaldrake, 2003. 'Metapors of the Metropolis. Architectural and Artistic Representations of the Identity of Edo' In Nicolas Fieve and Paul Waley(eds.) *Japanese capitals in historical perspective : place, power and memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo*. London, New York: Routledge Curzon, p.129-153

[489] Ibid., p.133-134

At this time, Tenkai held decisive power over the decision-making about Kiyomizu-dera. On Tenkai's advice, Kiyomizu-dō was designed in 1631 as animitation of Kiyomizu-dera.[490] Construction of Kiyomizu-dō began at almost the same time as the reconstruction of Kiyomizu-dera. It was begun even before the construction of Konpon Chūdō**.** While Kiyomizu-dō was finished in 1631,[491] construction of the Kan'ei-ji complex, the temple complex to which it belonged, was not finished until 1638. This seems to suggest that the shogunate's primary goal was to re-create a sacred space of Kyoto inside Kan'ei-ji's territory. Urai Shōmyō mentions the significance of building Kiyomizu-dō inside the Kan'ei-ji temple compound in the context of how Kan'ei-ji tried to 'imitate' Mt. Hiei, saying that "when talking about Kiyomizu Kannon-dō 清水観音堂 there is a famous Kannon-dō at Sensō-ji which is located very close by". Furthermore Sensō-ji is the same Tendai sect as Kan'ei-ji is, yet they decided to build Kiyomizu-dō as a copy of Kiyomizu-dera. This *kanjō* is performed in order to reflect its original location. In this act we can read Tenkai's deep attachement to make this plan happen.[492] Kiyomizu-dō was originally located at Mt. Suribachi, the southern part of today's Ueno Park. The original buildings were damaged by fire in 1698, and because of that it was moved to its current location on the west side of the hill.[493]

During the 1990s, a great deal of research was commissioned by the government into Kiyomizu-dō's architecture, on account of its cultural significance. According to this research, the structure has not changed since it was first built, excluding minor alterations. As can be seen from the images of the two, Kiyomizu-dō and Kiyomizu-dera share many architectural similarities, including the most important *kakezukuri* structure. They are clearly on a different scale, and the roof design of Kiyomizu-dō is visibly different from that of Kiyomizu-dera: while Kiyomizu-dō has a fairly simple roof design, Kiyomizu-dera features two 'wing-like' sub roofs, which are perhaps more in keeping with its scale. The height of the *kakezukuri* and the width and length of the terrace are significantly smaller in Kiyomizu-dō, although the height of the *kakezukuri* would presumably have been higher on the original hill. However, it has apparent similarities in its outlook when comparing the two buildings which gives an impression that Kiyomizu-dō is based closely on the design of Kiyomizu-dera.

[490] Inkai, 1680. Tōeizan kaisan jigen daishi engi In *Ryōdaishi denki vol. 5*.Tokyo: Hakubunkan
[491] Saitō Gesshin (1912) *Bukō Nenpyō*
[492] Urai Shōmyō, 2007. *Ueno Kan'ei-ji shōgunke no sōgi.* p.37
[493] Kiyomizu Kannondō, 2007. *Kiyomizudo*. Geocities website [Online] Available from: http://www.geocities.jp/kiyomizudo/ [Accessed: 21st January 2015]

Another important connection between Kiyomizu-dera and Kiyomizu-dō is the *honzon*, the *Senju Kannon* (thousand-armed Kannon), that was donated by Kiyomizu-dera to the new temple in Edo. It is recorded that Shunkai, the head abbot of Kiyomizu-dera, had donated the *honzon* statue to Kiyomizu-dō at the request of Tenkai. It has not been possible to extensively research this statue. I was not granted permission to see it in person to evaluate it, as this Kannon statue is regarded as a *hibutsu,* an inaccessible Buddhist figure to anyone. Making this main worshipped figure inaccessible to anybody follows Kiyomizu-dera's identical stance on protecting its own statue. It is said that Kiyomizu-dera's main worshipped figure is a standing Kannon statue with eleven faces and a thousand hands. This is indicated by another statue, said to be the replication of this sacred figure that is placed right in front of the altar. Both of the main worshipped figures at Kiyomizu-dera and Kiyomizu-dō are kept secret, and no one can see them except on very special occasions. This characteristic of Kiyomizu-dō must have also copied the same worship style towards its main statue, which is conducted at Kiyomizu-dera.

Fig. 60: Wooden standing statue of Kannon Bosatsu, 13th century, Kiyomizu-dō[494]

According to the description given by Taitō Ward[495] the main worshipped figure at Kiyomizu-dō is a wooden Kannon statue with a thousand arms and in a sitting position. Although, according to the Taitō Ward, this statue is not open to research at this point. It continues that, according to the record of *Tōeizan Shodō Konryū ki*, a monk called Gisokubō at Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto brought it and handed it to someone called Shume no Hōgan Morihisa who then presented it to Tenkai. However, this contradicts research showing that

[494] *Kannon Bosatsu,* Authour Unknown. Taito city website [Online] Available from: http://www.city.taito.lg.jp/index/kurashi/gakushu/bunkazai/yuukeibunkazai/tyoukoku/mokuzou/kannonbosatu3.html [Accessed: 6th July 2015]

[495] Ibid.

Tenkai asked Kiyomizu-dera to send this main figure. In addition, some confusion arises as Shume no Hōgan Morihisa is the name of a theatrical play made by Chikamatsu Monzaemon.[496] Morihisa indicate Taira no Morihisa, who was active in the 12th century. Although Taira no Morihisa was said to have lived during this time period, by the time of this event he had been killed after being captured by the Minamoto clan in Kamakura. For these reasons, the description of Taitō Ward does not seem to be an accurate source of information.

Another contemporary source states that the main worshipped figure is connected with Taira no Morihisa but also tells that Tenkai received this statue from Kiyomizu-dera.[497] This statement is made by Otaki Yoshinori, who is a head monk of one of Kan'ei-ji temples, Shinnyo-in. Otaki Yoshinori also adds that Mori Kiyonori, a present-day headmonk of Kiyomizu-dera, said to him that Kiyomizu-dō's main worshipped figure was likely the *honzon* of Kiyomizu-dera's Oku no in, which closely located to the main building and rebuilt in 1633 by the shogunate after the fire.

There is another wooden Kannon statue placed next to the main figure that the same Taitō Ward source introduces (Fig. 60).[498] The statue is made out of Japanese cypress wood, with a joined block construction. The eyes are made from glass, and the statue is painted in both gold and lacquer. The style of the statue is similar to that of Seishi Bosatsu or Mahasthanaprapta and the Kannon Bosatsu statue at Kiyomizu-dera, therefore it is presumed that its original completion date was during the first half of the 13th century. Since this statue was also made in the 13th century, and is similar to the style of Kiyomizu-dera statues, it is possible to speculate that these could well be connected to Kiyomizu-dera itself.

It is therefore possible to say that the *honzon*, and perhaps some of the spirit of Kiyomizu-dera was transferred to Kiyomizu-dō which was to be the new Kiyomizu in Edo. However, it should be noted that the religious sects associated with each temple are different. Various sources suggest that Kiyomizu-dō and Kiyomizu-dera had similar, but not exactly the same, beliefs and rites regarding Kannon. While Kiyomizu-dera belonged to Shōkō-ji temple in Nara where the Hossō Buddhist sect was founded, due to Kiyomizu-dō's location within the

[496] This was first played in 1586
[497] Taito city website [Online] Available from: http://www.taito-culture.jp/history/kiyomizu_kannondo/japanese/guide_01.html)[Accessed: 10th May 2016]
[498] Ibid.

Kan'ei-ji complex it automatically belonged to the Tendai sect. This difference in sect should not be considered insignificant in a period when sectarian allegiance was of great importance. To give a modern example, it is as if the Pope were to donate his own crucifix to the head of the Anglican Church. This was only possible because of both the enormous political and religious power wielded by Tenkai. Behind this power lay Tenkai's close links with the Tokugawa shogunate. By the time Tenkai made this request of Kiyomizu-dera, Iemitsu Tokugawa had just funded the rebuilding of Kiyomizu-dera, making it a very difficult request to deny. This transferral of one of their *honzon* could be read as a declaration of Kiyomizu-dō's superiority over Kiyomizu-dera as, religiously speaking, the *honzon* is the most important object in a temple. From the style of architecture called *kakezukuri*, which is strongly associated with the worship of Kannon, it can be seen that the concept of belief in Kannon was considered to be the most important reason for constructing Kiyomizu-dō. The statue of Kannon which was presented from Kiyomizu-dera was a necessary condition for Kan'ei-ji to demonstrate that this newly-built temple is a copy of Kiyomizu-dera.

3.5 Kiyomizu at Kōrakuen

This Kiyomizu at Kōrakuen is the only site, which is privately owned, that this thesis uses as a primal case of the act of copy in the 17th century sacred sites. It is also not strictly speaking completely religious, like temples and shrines which this thesis has so far examined as main copied sites. However, since this privately owned garden has a strong connection to the Tokugawa shogunate, it has a clear link to both Kiyomizu-dera and Kiyomizu-dō. The site is also depicted in visual materials which has an apparent official characteristic, and has a religious aspect. The thesis will examine this subject as a quasi-religious example of copying a religious site.

Kiyomizu-dō, which was built in Kan'ei-ji, was copied inside the garden of Kōrakuen. *Kōrakuen Kiji*[499] has a description about Mt. Shōro, which says that the Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto is a copy.[500] Although the size of the hall is smaller, the height of the terrace rivals Kiyomizu-dera. The pillars of the hall are decorated and created beautifully. Kōrakuen, which

[499]Tokyoshi (ed.) (1936) 'Kōrakuen kiji' In *Tokyoshi shikō yūen hen vol.1*. Tokyo: Tokyoshi,p.139
[500] This document states about a mountain and it also says Kiyomizu at Kyoto is copied in the garden

is well known today as Koishikawa Kōrakuen, was considered as a prominent Edo period garden.[501]

Fig. 61: *Mitosama Koishikawa Oyashiki Oniwa no Zu* (early Edo period)

Figure 61 depicts the Kōrakuen garden and its buildings, believed to be from the early Edo period. It portrays Kiyomizu and other replications of *utamakura* places. It showcases a typical gardening style which people appreciated by walking around a large pond. This garden was created when Tokugawa Yorifusa 徳川頼房 (1603-1661) was given a large amount of land by Tokugawa Hidetada in 1629. The garden was developed by Yorifusa's son Mitsukuni in the 1660s, especially upon the arrival of the Confucian scholar Zhu Zhiyu, known as Shu Shunsui in Japanese, who was exiled to Japan. According to *Kōrakuen Kiji*, the garden was completed with the considerable involvement of Iemitsu, who consulted the Mito branch of the Tokugawa family when creating the garden.[502] This can be confirmed by the fact that the Koishikawa Kōrakuen garden uses service water from the Kanda waterworks for their pond,

[501]Tang Qijun and Hatano Jun, 2006 'Edo no daimyo teien ni okeru chūgoku sakutei no eikyō: Koishikawa Kōrakuen wo chūshin ni' In *Nihon kenchiku gakkai kantō shibu kenkyū hōkoku shū II nr.76.* Tokyo: Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai, p.405-408

[502] 'Kōrakuen kiji' In *Tokyoshi shikō yūen hen vol.1*, p.129-131

which is also used as a public water supply. Since having access to clean water was not easy at that time, it indicates how this place was specially treated. In *Tokugawa Jikki*, there are several records indicating that Iemitsu visited the garden.[503] Iemitsu was greatly influenced by Shunsui, which is reflected in the development of the garden in a noticeably Chinese style. Shunsui suggested creating the 'copied' Chinese bridge and replicating the famous scenery of the West Lake in Hangzhou, China. The name of the Kōrakuen literally translates as 'Garden of Pleasures Last', which came from an aphorism written by a Chinese literary figure and politician in Northern Song period, Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052), where he writes that 'politicians worry before the world worries and they celebrate after the world celebrates'.[504] This appreciation of Chinese culture started as early as 1640, when Tokugawa Yorifusa called Hayashi Razan, another Confucian scholar, to his garden. Razan named one of the garden's artificial hills Shōrozan. The name came from Mt. Lu in China. Razan connected this famous and religious mountain in China to the scenery made by Yorifusa with the support of Chinese classics such as *The Analects* to praise the virtue of Yorifusa.[505] Copying famous and religious locations was not limited to those from China, as copied Kyoto sceneries were also popular. Li uses a map of *Mitosama Edo Oyashiki Oniwa no Zu* to demonstrate this, in which Kiyomizu-dō is depicted near the Shōrozan.

Fig. 62: *Mitosama Edo Oyashiki Oniwa no Zu,* a map of Lord Mito's Edo residence and its garden (late-16th century)

[503] *Tokugawa Jikki*

[504] Fan, Z. Gakuyōrōki In Maeno, N. ed., 1962. *Shinshaky Kanbun Taikei Vol, 18*; Tokyo: Meiji Shoin

[505] Li Wai, 2005. 'Shoki koishikawa kōrakuen ni okeru chōbō kōi ni kansuru kenkyū' In *Landscape kenkyū: nihon zōen gakkaishi, vol. 68 nr.5*. Tokyo: Nihon Zōen Gakkai,p.373

On the map, we can see a building which has *kakezukuri* or 'hanging terrace' structure, and next to it is writing which says 'Kiyomizu'.

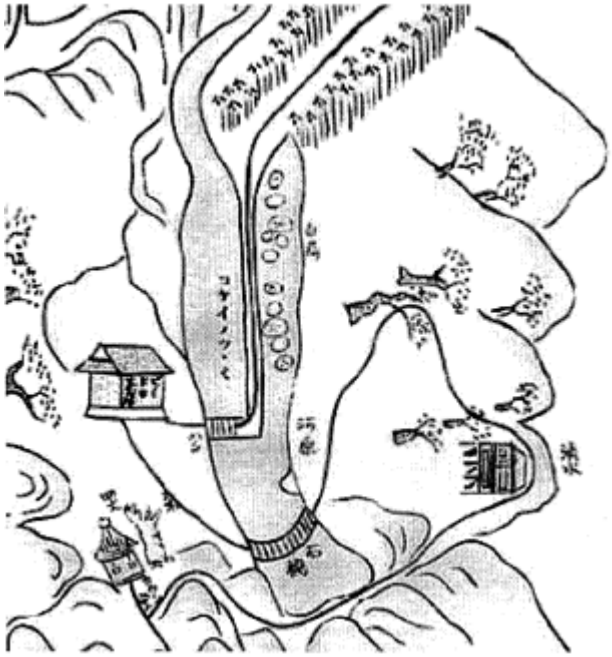

Fig. 63: A part of *Mitosama Edo Oyashiki Oniwa no Zu*

Nearby there is a waterfall called Otowa, which is likely to be a copy of the Otowa waterfall at Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto. As with other replications, the height and scale of the waterfall and Kiyomizu architecture in Kōrakuen garden are not the same as either the original in Kiyomizu-dera or the first copy of Kiyomizu-dō. Even so, a visitor to Kōrakuen garden would easily be able to recognise these buildings as copied buildings from Kiyomizu-dera.

The exact date of building the 'copied' Kiyomizu-dō is not clear. In the Edo guidebook entitled *Tōtokikō,*[506] which was written by Tsuji Setsudō in 1692, the existence of Kiyomizu-dō is indicated. This serves to narrow down the timeline. In the description, Tsuji states that he viewed Mt. Fuji through pine leaves and nothing else disturbed the view. This location where he viewed Mt. Fuji is also described as a mountain which stands at Kiyomizu no Dō.[507] It is important to mention that Tsuji commented on the good view of Mt. Fuji through the pine

[506]Tsuji Setsudō (Originally published in 1692) Tōtokikō In Iwamoto K. (ed.) 1912. Shin enseki jisshu vol. 2. Tokyo: Toshokakōkai

[507]Li Wai, 2005. 'Shoki koishikawa kōrakuen ni okeru chōbō kōi ni kansuru kenkyū' In *Landscape kenkyū: nihon zōen gakkaishi, vol. 68 nr.5*, p.375-376

trees and Kiyomizu-dera at the same time. As stated in aprevious chapter, the act of viewing (*kunimi)* was connected to the concept of rulers overseeing their own territory.

Pine trees were known to symbolise eternity, as the tree is evergreen and does not lose leaves with seasons or with age. Historically the pine tree was depicted in paintings to celebrate the longevity of authority. The viewing from the mountain and through the pine leaves suggests that Edo started to internalise Mt. Fuji as its own territory. At the same location, Kiyomizu no Dō is copied to bring one of Kyoto's respected landmarks into the territory of Edo. Li also points out that this interest in creating a good view through the act of garden-making was one of the major characteristics of the daimyo's gardens of the time.[508] However, Kiyomizu no Dō was not just built as an attraction or simply for pure entertainment. This is known because it enshrined the *Nyoirin Kannon* which is one form of Avalokitesvara. This Kannon, considering its style, seems to have been made around the 14th century. Unlike Kiyomizu-dera and Kiyomizu-dō, this Kannon sits in the lotus position. The above description made by Tsuji Setsudō indicates that this copied Kiyomizu was understood as relating specifically to Kiyomizu-dō and not Kiyomizu-dera. This might mean that Kiyomizu no Dō was not necessarily seen as Kiyomizu Kannon-dō in Kan'ei-ji. However, knowing that Kiyomizu-dō in Kan'ei-ji was completed in 1631, when people visited this copied Kiyomizu in Kōrakuen they may have thought that this particular Kiyomizu was a representation of Kiyomizu-dō. At the very least, it is possible that Kiyomizu-dō at Kan'ei-ji was understood as an equivalent to Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto. Hitomi Bōsai 人見懋斎 （1638−1696), a pupil of Shunsui 朱舜水（1600-1682), left a record of visiting Kōrakuen. He says that, from the mountain and looking west, he could see the prosperity of the town, and looking south he sees a great Edo castle.[509] This further confirms the shared understanding of the importance that the symbolic viewing gesture process possesses.

When we look at the map, we can see that it has other well-known locations, or *nadokoro,* including Shōshō Hakkei, Matsubara at Miho and the river Kiso. These other copied *nadokoro* indicate that through walking around the large pond inside the garden visitors almost become travellers through Japan. They leave Edo to the river Kiso, viewing Shōshō Hakkei, visiting Kiyomizu and reaching Matsubara at Miho. Rivers and mountains are all placed into

[508]Li Wai,2007. *Daimyo teien no kūkan kōsei ni kansuru kenkyū – Edo jidai no teien ni okeru chōbō.* Doctorial thesis. Hayama: Sōgō Kenkyū Daigakuin Daigaku, p.2-16

[509]Li Wai, 2005. 'Shoki koishikawa kōrakuen ni okeru chōbō kōi ni kansuru kenkyū', p.375

one garden, and in this way a visitor can experiment being connected to the world depicted in *waka* poems. All of this can be achieved while remaining within the city of Edo, built by the Tokugawa. It is therefore interesting that Kiyomizu was chosen to represent Kyoto and not Edo or any other places. This signifies that Kiyomizu was understood as the most famous, and perhaps the most beautiful destination for travellers visiting Kyoto. This also indicates that the *nadokoro* now became *meisho* on account of its popularity. In that sense, as *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* became *yūraku zu* when transforming its purpose from demonstrating political dominanation of the capital to depicting a capital that celebrates peace, which was brought by the new ruler, now the primary focus in copying also began to concentrate on representing famous places. This symbolises the Tokugawa shogunate's intention of internalising history into a newly-created city.

3.6 Representation in visual materials

3.6.1 Kiyomizu-dera

Fig. 64: *Kyō warabe*, Kiyomizu and the waterfall of Otowa (1658)

When looking at the *rakuchū rakugai zu* folding screens, it is noticeable that Kiyomizu-dera is depicted in every screen set. The site is shown in the upper-right hand part of the right

set of the screens. Usually, Kiyomizu-dera is depicted in a small size as it was first considered the boundary between the internal *rakuchū* and external *rakugai* of Kyoto and later on was considered as a part of *rakuchū*. Furthermore, sacred places tend to be located in the upper section of the city, enabling them to keep the area holy as it always should be according to class distinctions. Pilgrims are depicted praying to Kannon. However, when we look closer, some of the people are actually standing on the terrace and looking out over the capital.

When the *rakuchū rakugai zu* style became popular, Kiyomizu-dera was depicted covered with cherry blossoms because it was famous for its spring view. This is similar to the popular image that Yoshino held. The main subject of *Kanginshū*, a collection of Japanese songs written in 1518 and collected into a single volume in the Muromachi period, was the appreciation of cherry blossom viewing sites in Kyoto as places of scenic beauty. Both Kiyomizu-dera and Otowa waterfall are mentioned together in the same song. This shows that, from the early-16th century, Kiyomizu-dera was known for being beautiful in the spring. The picture above is not one of the Kyoto screens, but was made in the same period. The painting depicts a young man playing a flute by the terrace in spring, together with pilgrims and visitors. This young man can be seen near the front edge of the painting wearing brown coloured clothes. As Kiyomizu-dera opens its front terrace to the South, it is always depicted as if the viewer were looking from West to East, so that the terrace is observed on the right hand side to the main hall where Kannon is enshrined.

Fig. 65: Kanō Shōei, *Kiyomizu-dera* (mid-16th century) Fan painting

As many scholars such as Matsushima, Kojima, Kuroda, Katō and Ozawa explain in their writings, these paintings do not fully and accurately depict what was physically there at the time. Instead, they depict what the people wanted to see as well as what people wanted to show. This idealisation in paintings could be seen in many places. For example, Matsushima mentions one of the folding screens, known as the *Uesugi* screens, depicting Kyoto.[510]

The *Uesugi* screens, which were mentioned earlier in the section regarding nature, include the suburban area of Kyoto, and are an example of *rakuchū rakugai zu*. Matsushima states that the emperor is enjoying court music with other noblemen and the palace is depicted elegantly. In reality, by the time the painting was made, the Imperial Court had a great shortage of money. They were unable to keep up their luxurious lifestyle, making it impossible for them to hold musical events or keep their palaces in good condition. Interestingly, this screen painting was commissioned by one of the most powerful feudal lords, Oda Nobunaga, as a gift to his ally Uesugi Kenshin. This suggests that these feudal lords idealised both the Imperial family and Kyoto as a city. In their view, Kyoto was the capital where the most cultured things happened and the emperor was at the heart of everything worthwhile. Although Nobunaga does not seem to be keen to reside at Kyoto, nor did he show interest in dealing with Court, as discussed, he understood and used its political importance to other political players such as exiled Ashikaga shogun, other feudal lords and religious institutions. This is why these feudal lords wanted to have power to govern the capital. This screen also has a political function, as by depicting the capital and the emperor, the owner of the painting increases his own legitimacy in the political sphere. The painting here therefore was the equivalent of a title or peerage today. The form of this *rakuchū rakugai zu* flourished in the following few centuries. Many painting studios created Kyoto screens that reflected the 'idealised' reality of recovering and developing the capital of the time.

The earliest examples depicting Kiyomizu-dera within the framework of the capital can be found in the earliest *rakuchū rakugai zu*, the *Rekihaku* Version A or *rekihaku kōhon*. On this screen, Kiyomizu-dera and its terrace are depicted at a slightly tilted angle. The Otowa waterfall is clearly depicted with people purifying themselves at its edge, three people are depicted enjoying the view of the capital, and some other figures are facing towards the inner temple. The entire main hall is not depicted, which suggests that this artwork has different

[510]Matsushima Jin, 2011. *Tokugawa shōgun kenryoku to kanōha kaiga*, p.17

characteristics and aims in contrast to the more religious representation of Kiyomizu-dera which was made around a similar time. This is well known as *Kiyomizu-dera Sankei Mandara*.

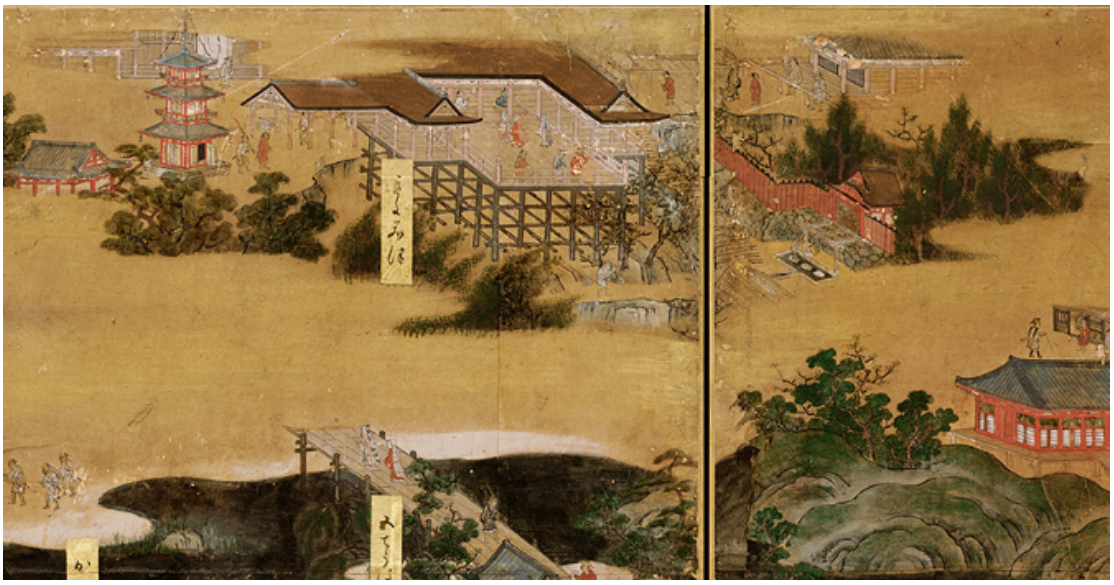

Fig. 66: *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version A* (c. 1525-1536) close-up of Kiyomizu-dera

The first type of *rakuchū rakugai zu* screen follows the basic style of portraying Kiyomizu-dera, in a similar way to how it is represented in *Rekihaku* Version A. For example, in the *Uesugi* screen, the roof of the main hall is covered by golden clouds, but both the terrace and the waterfall are clearly portrayed.

When the second style of *rakuchū rakugai zu* appeared, the early images start to indicate a change in the way Kiyomizu-dera was represented. On the Shōkō-ji screens, now the whole architectural structure became visible and the surrounding inner temples and attached religious buildings were depicted in more detail. The angle at which this site is portrayed, however, has not changed. This can be observed in the depiction of the terrace and its steps leading to the Otowa waterfall. This indicates that, although the main subject matter has changed between the first type and the second type of *rakuchū rakugai zu*, the status of Kiyomizu-dera changed significantly between the mid-16th century and the beginning of the 17th century. This reflects the historical fact that military authorities such as Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, Ieyasu and Hidetada all approved the territorial security of the Kiyomizu-dera. In the Shōkō-ji screen, as it has been in previous *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens, Kiyomizu-dera is still depicted without cherry blossoms, however this changed dramatically by the time *Rekihaku* Version D appeared.

A rather unusual set of *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens, named *Funaki*, also depicts Kiyomizu-dera. *Funaki* is dissimilar to ordinary second-type screen paintings of *rakuchū rakugai zu*, although it depicts Hōkō-ji, the Imperial Palace and Nijō castle. We can see this in the angle which is applied when portraying the capital. While most of the second-type screen paintings use the centre of Kyoto as their basis, looking east for the right screen and west for the left screen, the *Funaki* screen looks through the capital from south to north. In this way, we can see that these later screens are unlike other *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens which place their depictions in a horizontal alignment. This uniquely-applied perspective when portraying the capital as *rakuchū rakugai zu* also exists in other versions such as the *Kōzu* version *rakuchū rakugai zu* screen, however that screen does suggest the intention of a different alignment.

Fig. 67: Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650), *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Funaki Screens* (c. 1614-1616) right screen

Fig. 68: Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650), *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Funaki Screens* (c. 1614-1616) left screen

Tsuji Nobuo suggested that these *Funaki* screens were created to depict a scene of the capital from sometime between 1614 and 1616.[511] As Tsuji points out, it depicts the bell at Hōkō-ji which was completed in 1614. Nishi Hongan-ji, which burned down in 1617, is depicted, therefore this cannot be a painting portraying the scene after 1617. This Tsuji's account of a depicted bell at Hōkō-ji indeed gives a strong reason why these screens were made after 1614. And this historical event of the bell will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In the *Funaki* screens, Tsuji examined the similarities and differences of the style of the painting. He came to the understanding that this was painted by a painter related to Iwasa Matabei.[512] Though, this presumption of the painter can be dated back as early as the time when this screen was discovered by Minamoto Toyomune, who closely associated this work with Matabei's work. Some researchers state that these *Funaki* screens were painted by Iwasa Matabei himself. For example, the recently-released exhibition that focused on this screen, coordinated by both the Tokyo National Museum and Toppan Painting Cooperation, clearly stated that the screens were painted by Iwasa Matabei. Although the painting style is very similar to that of Iwasa Matabei and the brushwork of the *Hōkoku Sairei Zu* screen which is said to be the work of Matabei, there are no other works by Matabei created during this period. Iwasa Matabei also left Kyoto in 1617. Therefore, if this was the work of Iwasa Matabei, it matches with the time that these screens are speculated to portray.

[511]Tsuji Nobuo, 1989. *Kisō no zufu – karakuri jakuchū kazari*. Tokyo: Heibonsha
[512]Ibid.

Fig. 69: Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650), *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Funaki Screens* close-up of Kiyomizu-dera

Both Kiyomizu-dera and the Buddha Hall at Hōkok-ji are depicted on the right screen over the first three panels. Across the Gōjō Bridge, which is depicted at an unusually large size, only the third and fourth panel on the right screen lead the viewer's eye to the left screen. This depicts Tō-ji on the first and second panel, Hongan-ji in the third together with the busy Kyoto, and both the Imperial Palace and Nijō castle on the remaining three panels. Although the purpose of making this screen is unknown, this set of screens indicates a clear contrast in the political power possessed by authorities by placing Hōkō-ji on the right screen and both the Imperial Palace and Nijō castle on the left screen. The Kamo river, that runs through and divides Hōkō-ji and the rest of Higashiyama area from the inner Kyoto or *rakuchū* area and Nijō castle and the Imperial Palace, also functions as a suggestion of the time passing. However, the people who are depicted in the painting do not look unhappy. There is a group of people dancing when approaching Gōjō Bridge from Hōkō-ji towards the inner Kyoto area, and this liveliness is evident in the representation of Kiyomizu-dera. Kiyomizu-dera in the screen is again not fully portrayed with its main hall, and the tilted angle of the Kiyomizu-dera is similar to those in first-type *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens. This indicates the possibility of the painter referencing the first-type *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens as a model when depicting Kiyomizu-dera. Other characteristic features, such as the steps from the main hall to Otowa waterfall, also are depicted in a similar way. The religious mood is less present in this depiction

of Kiyomizu-dera. Though there are many people depicted, they all have smiles on their faces. People are also portrayed enjoying both the view of the capital and cherry blossoms, at least that is what we can see in paintings. This confirms that Kiyomizu-dera, at the time around 1618, was understood to be a famous place where people enjoy a secular experience, with religion not always being the primary purpose of their visit.

People's understanding of Kiyomizu-dera and how the general attitude towards the building changed can be observed through different painting groups which pay attention to the specific location of Kiyomizu-dera and other landmarks in the area. From the mid-15th century to the beginning of the 17th century, a specific genre of religious paintings was created that depict Kiyomizu-dera. These types of religious paintings are called *Shaji Sankei Mandara* and the ones created for Kiyomizu-dera are therefore called *Kiyomizudera Sankei Mandara*. There are two *Kiyomizudera Sankei Mandara* known today as surviving examples. One is possessed by Kiyomizu-dera and the other is possessed by the Nakajima family. Although there are slight differences in these surviving examples, the basic composition is the same. According to Shimosaka Mamoru, it is said that the Kiyomizu version was created in the mid-16th century and the Nakajima version was created in the latter half of the 16th century.[513]

Fig. 70: *Kiyomizudera Sankei Mandara* (c. mid-16th century)

[513]Shimosaka Mamoru, 2003. *Egakareta nippon no chūsei kaiga bunsekiron*

It is generally understood that this *Kiyomizudera Sankei Mandara* was made to gather donations for Kiyomizu-dera. This was done by *kanjin* monks for ordinary people who held little understanding of the religious theory associated with Kiyomizu-dera. It was accepted to be rather simple and plain as well as flat, almost like the *ezu* picture map painting style. However, according to Ueno Tomoe, the painting targeted the upper elite class people of both court and military families as potential donors for the Kiyomizu-dera.[514] She introduces Nishiyama Masaru's theory that the *Sankei Mandara* is a kind of promotional image that the sacred place presents to the external world. Therefore, the image which is represented in the painting is idealised, and there is no space to include negative aspects that could potentially damage the holiness of the location.[515] However, Ueno mentions a scene where people are drinking alcohol, and perhaps this suggests that consuming alcohol is not considered to be damaging to the holiness of Kiyomizu-dera.

When we look at Nakajima family's version, although the main aim is clearly to indicate the entire Kiyomizu-dera structure and its holiness, there is already an aspect of the work which expresses people's joy visiting this location. Kiyomizu-dera's main hall is placed in the centre of the image, and other temple structures are all depicted fairly accurately. Jishu-jinja shrine is located just above where the *honzon* is portrayed and Mt. Otowa or Mt. Kiyomizu sits behind it. Next to Jishu-jinja both the sun and the moon are portrayed, which signifies the sacredness of this place. People who view this painting can start their journey across the artwork from the lower left-hand corner, where bridges symbolise that the viewer is about to enter a different entity - a sacred place. This is potentially where the explanation of the artwork's purpose for soliciting donations would be likely to begin, were someone to describe the image. Here, the mountain is shown in spring with cherry blossoms in full bloom, and people on the hanging terrace are enjoying the view.

[514]Ueno Tomoe, 2009. 'Kiyomizudera sankei mandara shiron – sōtei sareta kyōjushasō wo megutte' In Matsumoto Ikuyo and Idemitsu Sachiko (eds.) *Fūzoku kaiga no bunkagaku – toshi wo utsusu media*. Kyoto: Shibunkaku, p. 39
[515]Ibid., p.33-34

Fig. 71: *Higashiyama Meisho Zu byōbu* (mid-16th century) right screen

Higashiyama Meisho Zu byōbu, which depicts Kiyomizu-dera, its surroundings and a part of the town around the Kamo River, also follows the basic principle of placing Kiyomizu at a sacred location. People are guided to Kiyomizu-dera from the lower left corner of the screen, crossing the Kamo River and entering the sacred place by going under the *torii* gate. The main hall and its surrounding buildings again are grandly depicted with a sense of dignity, and Kiyomizu-dera is surrounded by mountains. This contrasts with the depiction of secular areas, where houses and people are not depicted as elegantly as they are in the Kiyomizu-dera area. In a similar way to many other paintings of the mid-16th century, the temple is full of cherry blossoms. This artwork follows the same style. Some people are depicted praying, and others are shown simply enjoying the scenery around them. Therefore, this screen shows the beginning of an increasing emphasis on people's pleasure. This peace and prosperity could symbolise the Tokugawa's power and legitimacy of rule.

Fig. 72: *Kiyomizudera Yūraku Zu* (After 1610)

This interest in depicting the aspect of pleasure in people's lives developed with the arrival of peace in Kyoto, which naturally affected how Kiyomizu-dera was represented. The *Kiyomizudera Yūraku Zu* screen places Kiyomizu-dera's main hall in the centre panel, Otowa waterfall on the far-right panel and on the 5th and 6th panels a kabuki performance is portrayed. On this screen, unlike the previous two images which this thesis has examined, people are no longer going towards the Kiyomizu-dera but actually heading in the direction of the kabuki play. Although there are still a few people praying at Kiyomizu-dera, the vast majority of people portrayed in the painting are either visiting to see the kabuki performance or to enjoy the view from the Kiyomizu-dera terrace. The cherry blossoms are in full bloom and are focused on more than in previous images, indicating that Kiyomizu-dera was a place to appreciate them. This way of enjoying the view of cherry blossoms must have been shared by many others when this image was created. From the way people are dressed and the way Kiyomizu is represented, we can ascertain that this painting was created after 1610. According to the MOA Museum of Arts, this kabuki theatre is understood to be the Sadojima performance group.[516] The Sadojima kabuki is one of the kabuki groups that followed the trend created by Okuni kabuki in 1603, which is for all characters to be played by women. The significance of this portrayal of kabuki right next to the sacred site will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Although sacred and secular sites are divided by a golden cloud in a similar depiction and style to that of the *Higashiyama Meisho Zu byōbu* screen, the secular and the sacred are not strictly divided. The female figures displayed in this screen look like those which appeared in *Yūraku Jinbutsu* screens, a style that portrayed mostly female figures.

[516] *Kabuki Theatre,* MOA Museum of Art [Online] Available from: http://www.moaart.or.jp/collection/japanese-paintings65/ [Accessed: 13th August 2015]

Fig. 73: *Bugi Zu* (1660s)

It is also important to mention that the scaling of both architectural and geographical features is inaccurate. For example, the terrace at the main hall is depicted much too low and the steps to the Otowa waterfall are too short. These points all indicate that Kiyomizu-dera had become so famous that it did not necessarily need to be represented in a physically accurate manner. By placing symbolic signs such as the hanging terrace, steps, waterfall and cherry blossoms, it gives enough information for the viewer to understand that this is the famous Kiyomizu-dera. From the clothing worn by people portrayed in this painting, as well as the female theatrical group, this artwork can be considered to depict a scene from 1610 to the first half of the 1620s. In 1629, Tokugawa Iemitsu banned women kabuki actors, which is another

way to date this. Therefore, when Kiyomizu-dera was copied in Edo in the early 1630s, the people shared this understanding of Kiyomizu as *meisho*.

Fig. 74: *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version D* (c. 1620's) close-up to Kiyomizu-dera

This secularised Kiyomizu is also skilfully depicted in *Rekihaku* Version D, which was previously mentioned in Chapter 2. On the upper part of the second panel Kiyomizu-dera is depicted with the usual subject matter, such as the main hall, the steps and the waterfall. However, the painting represents the site in a rather unskilled way. The main hall is covered by a golden cloud, which is not unusual at all in these type of paintings, but the extended roof sections which usually appear and which characterise the Kiyomizu-dera's main hall do not appear in this painting. Right next to the main hall there is a building depicted on top of a raised ground foundation, which is likely to be Asakura-dō. Asakura-dō was built through donations given by the Asakura clan during the early 15th century.[517] Interestingly, this painting portrays the time when Kiyomizu-dera burned down in 1629. This can be understood through the depiction of Asakura-dō, since Asakura-dō was rebuilt in the 1630s and moved to a different location. When looking at the hanging terrace of the main hall, we see a group of four people placed at the centre. One of them is holding a red umbrella, indicating that the female depicted under the umbrella is a member of the nobility. A child in that group and two male

[517] Kiyomizuderashi Hensan Iinkai, 1997. *Kiyomizudera shi vol. 2.* Kyoto: Otowasan Kiyomizudera, p.22

figures are depicted wearing unique clothes, which appear to have been inspired by Jesuit fashions.

This expression of human figures is very similar to other styles of paintings mentioned above, such as *Higashiyama Meisho Zu byōbu* and *Kiyomizudera Yūraku Zu*, where four noble women, including a child and a person standing under the umbrella, are depicted. This suggests a possibility that Kiyomizu-dera was already burned down but not yet rebuilt by the Tokugawa shogunate when these *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens were created, so the painter had to refer to previously existing images such as *Higashiyama Meisho Zu byōbu* and *Kiyomizudera Yūraku Zu.* This hypothesis is possible because this *rakuchū rakugai zu* screen demonstrates a strong focus on portraying famous places. The absence of unique architectural features of the main hall and the highly stereotypical way of portraying visitors to the temple potentially indicates that the painter did not necessarily need to refer to reality when the painting was made.

3.6.2 Kiyomizu-dō

In this section, I will examine how copied architecture was viewed and used by the lay people of the time. As mentioned, Kiyomizu-dera was known as a place to appreciate the cherry blossoms in spring. Kiyomizu-dō was well-known for the same reason.

Fig. 75: *Edo Meisho zue* (1834-1836)

Although the image shown here isn't created in the time frame of this thesis, it is an example of depicting Kiyomizu-dō sometime between 1834 and 1856. The title is 'Flower Viewing at Kiyomizu-dō' (*Kiyomizu-dō Hanaminozu* by Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重 (1797-1858)). The terrace and the people are the main focus of the image and the main hall is only partially depicted. There are many people depicted in the image but no one seems to be offering prayers to Kannon. There is a *haiku* poem written on the cloud, saying:

Hanging a bell, yet the cherry blossom has its peak

It is not certain what 'Hanging bell' means, although in Japanese, it could be also read as:

Spending a lot of money, and even more, the peak of women

Kane kakete

Shikamo sakarino

Sakura kana

This poem could be interpreted in two ways, in which both cherry blossoms and women with expensive clothes are lauded. A well-known poet, Takarai Kikaku, visited Kiyomizu-dera and composed the following poem there in 1705:

All over Kyoto,

Cherry blossom of Jishu Shrine (within Kiyomizu-dera)

Fly like a beautiful butterfly

Kyōjū e

Jishuno sakuraya

Tobu kocyō

Since there are not many visual sources available regarding Kiyomizu-dō in Kan'ei-ji, only the possibility that Kiyomizu-dō was known with its view and the cherry blossoms can be discussed in any detail. We will therefore look at this early 19th century image by Utagawa Hiroshige, an *ukiyo-e* woodblock print of Kiyomizu-dō.

Fig. 76: Utagawa Hiroshige, *Ueno Kiyomizu-dō* (1856-1858)

As per the timeframe of the work, Kiyomizu-dō is shown after its move from the original location in the 1630s. Kiyomizu-dō today, is situated on a direct line connecting Bentenjima on Shinobazu no Ike pond and Benten-dō.

There, the temple is surrounded by cherry blossoms and again, people are not worshipping Kannon but enjoying its lofty location. The *kakezukuri* structure is expressed in a rather exaggerated manner, which gives the viewer of the image a feeling of actually being in Kiyomizu-dera, Kyoto, overlooking the capital through spring scenery. We can see through examination of these different points that Kiyomizu-dera and Kiyomizu-dō were linked not only by architectural similarity and religious beliefs, but also by the activities people participated in at the temples.

This example of *Edozu byōbu* is probably one of the earliest surviving paintings that portray Kiyomizu-dō. Kiyomizu-dō at Kan'ei-ji is portrayed on the 4th panel of the right screen just under the Great Buddha statue.

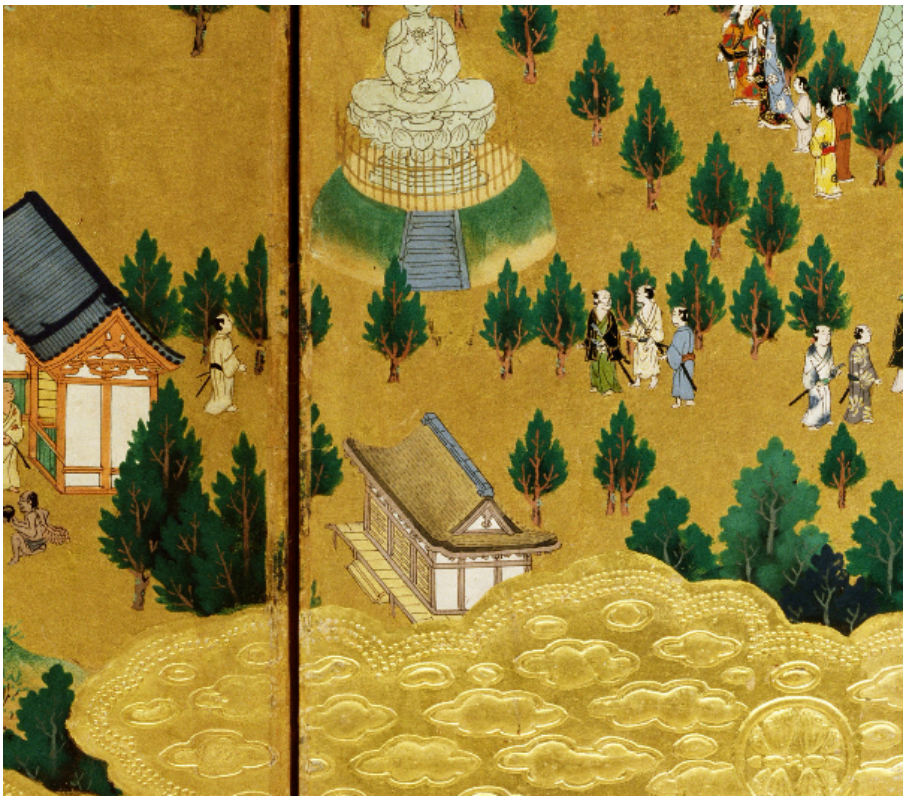

Fig. 77: *Edozu byōbu* (after 1631 and before 1634) close-up of Kiyomizu

Although this does not have a *kakezukuri* style terrace, which is the most distinct feature of Kiyomizu, we know this structure must be Kiyomizu-dō because of its location in the complex. Kiyomizu-dō, before it was moved after the Great Fire of Meireki, was located at the highest point within the Kan'ei-ji compound south of Kan'ei-ji. As such, it makes sense to place this building there in relation to other landmarks. The shape of the roof is not too far from the original Kan'ei-ji architectural structure, which is a stylistic hint that also supports the theory that this is the Kiyomizu Kannon-dō in Ueno which was copied from Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto. Kiyomizu-dō is surrounded by trees and is covered partially by the golden cloud that separates Kan'ei-ji from Sensō-ji. Kiyomizu-dō is closed and no one seems to visit the location, unlike the original site in Kyoto. The reason for this is not clear, though considering Kan'ei-ji's position as an official Tokugawa shogunate temple it may have been unwise at the time to portray Kiyomizu-dō as a popular tourist destination. The front of the architecture is facing towards the left, where both the Shinobazu pond as well as the main part of Edo extends onto the left screen. This is different from how the front and the terrace of the main hall are positioned from a point of compass view to how it appears in the original site where it faces south. However, when we consider how Kiyomizu-dera is depicted in *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* with the main hall tilted slightly towards inner Kyoto, it is possible that the painter of

Edozu byōbu referred back to the pictorial expression of Kiyomizu-dera when painting Kiyomizu-dō.

Although there is no written evidence, it is possible to conclude that Kiyomizu-dō is likely depicted in *Edozu byōbu.* There are two reasons for justifying this assertation: first, Kiyomizu-dō was built on a hill called Suribachi Yama or Mt. Suribachi. This is a bowl-shaped hill which is suspected to be an ancient tomb. The Japanese used to bury powerful people in this kind of burial mound, which is why this place is of a higher altitude than the surrounding area. If Kiyomizu-dō was depicted on *Edozu byōbu*, the aspect of Kiyomizu-dō being on a hill had to be emphasised. Secondly, it is rather odd for a painting made after the foundation of Kiyomizu-dō in 1631 to not depict the temple, as it represented one of the most well-known sites of religious architecture in Kyoto. As Kan'ei-ji occupied a large amount of space as a highlight of the right-hand screen on similar works, to omit Kiyomizu-dō from the painting does not make sense.

At the same time, there are a few reasons to deny that the depiction is of Kiyomizu-dō. Firstly, the architecture neither accurately represents Kiyomizu-dera nor Kiyomizu-dō: the structure is not depicted in the right shape, and it is significantly smaller than Kiyomizu-dō. Secondly, there are famous natural aspects that were not included in *Edozu byōbu*. For example, there should be an island depicted in the lake that is situated right next to the Kan'ei-ji complex which is omitted. Following this logic, omitting Kiyomizu-dō from the artwork appears to be more justified. As *Edozu byōbu* were more pictorial than map-like, it does not necessarily reflect the reality of the landscape. Probably, in the mind of either the painter and/or the commissioner, the preference was to have a predominant space to Kan'ei-ji in order to indicate the political importance that this temple possesses.

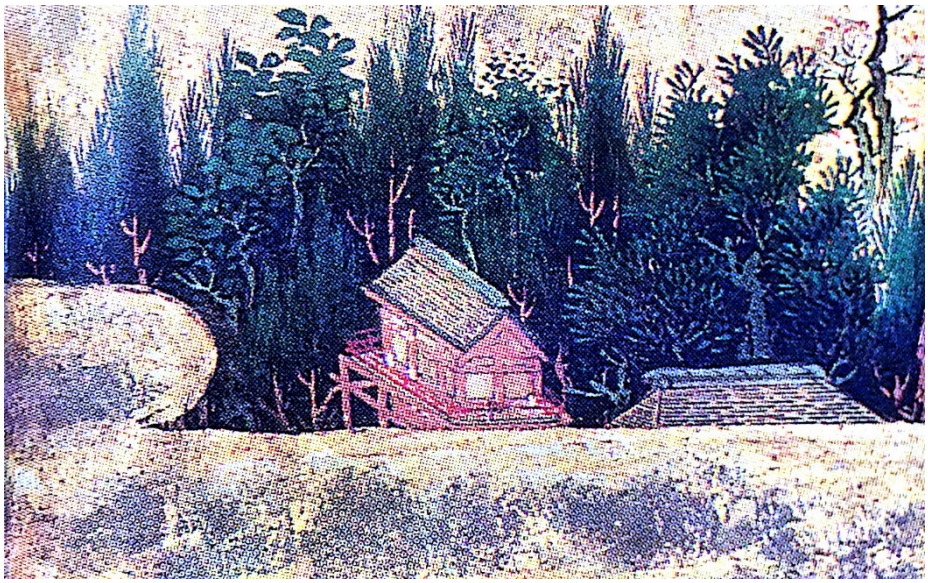

Fig. 78: *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu* (c. 1642-1651) close-up of Kiyomizu

Regardless of whether *Edo Meisho Zu byōbu* comes before or after *Edozu byōbu*, Kiyomizu-dō is portrayed. Much the same as with *Edozu byōbu,* Kiyomizu-dō is portrayed in the 1st panel of the right screen. However, this time Kiyomizu-dō is completely segregated and looks to be deliberately completely inaccessible. Kiyomizu-dō is partially covered by a golden cloud, which is the same as in *Edozu byōbu.* It also has the same angle facing towards the left, and there seems to be an increased emphasis on the hanging terrace structure depicted in red, which is surrounded by layers of trees that seem to deny access. It is now natural to speculate that Kiyomizu-dō was portrayed in this manner because of Sensō-ji's main hall where Kannon Bosatsu is also enshrined. The main hall of Sensō-ji is portrayed right under Kiyomizu-dō of Kan'ei-ji where the scale is so much larger. We can see people visiting and celebrating in the temple, and the technique used is incomparably better to that used in depicting Kiyomizu-dō. Since one of the major aims of this screen was to portray the celebratory location of Sensō-ji, it would make sense that Kiyomizu-dō was portrayed in such a diminished manner in order to contrast with a much more historical religious site that worships Kannon.

The image of *Jigen Daishi Engi Emaki* shown in Figures 79 and 80 is a hand scroll painting of Kan'ei-ji made by painter Sumiyoshi Gukei. Although this hand scroll was painted in 1679-1680, it indicates how Kiyomizu-dō looked in the mid-17th century.

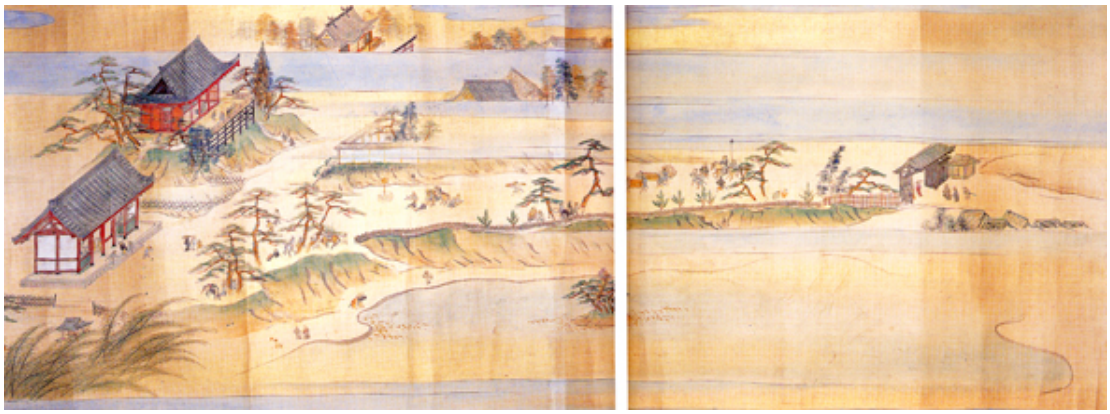

Fig. 79: Sumiyoshi Gukei, *Jigen Daishi Engi Emaki* (1679-1680) right screen

Fig. 80: Sumiyoshi Gukei, *Jigen Daishi Engi Emaki* (1679-1680) left screen

According to Shimohara Miho, who researched the relationship between the Sumiyoshi school painters and the Tendai sect, the making of this hand scroll held a significant meaning for Sumiyoshi Gukei.[518] Sumiyoshi Gukei was a son of Sumiyoshi Jokei (1599-1670), who established the Sumiyoshi school and served the Tokugawa shogunate as a painter. Both of them were devoted Tendai followers and both eventually became Tendai priests. When they became priests, the ritual was conducted by the head of the Tendai sect. Shimohara reveals that Jokei was present when Tenkai resided at Nankōbō at Mt. Hiei, and through Tenkai's recommendation Jokei was able to meet Ieyasu.

Sumiyoshi Jokei appears to have also been involved in the making of another painting scroll called *Tōshō-gū Engi Emaki*.[519] His son Gukei also met Tenkai, and he painted other

[518]Shimohara Miho, 2008. 'Sumiyoshiha ryūkō to tendaishū tono kankei ni tsuite' In *Kagoshima daigaku kyōiku gakubu kenkyū kiyō, nr.59*. Kagoshima: Kagoshima daigaku, p.33-42
[519] Ibid., p.34

paper scrolls which tell the story of a Tendai monk at Mt. Hiei, as well as *Jigen Daishi Engi Emaki*. The Sumiyoshi family's relationship with Tenkai was enormously beneficial to them, because they later became official painters for the Tokugawa shogunate. This is significant because without Tenkai's support it was quite difficult for new painters such as Sumiyoshi to receive approval to create official paintings.

Shimohara refers to the script at the end of the hand scroll indicating why and when these scrolls were made.[520] It states that Inkai, one of the highest pupils of Tenkai, wanted to leave a record of Tenkai and had asked Sumiyoshi Gukei to portray his life. The scroll was painted in the 3rd month of 1679 by Gukei, when he was in Edo. Sumiyoshi Gukei must have paid greatest attention when making the hand scroll, since this was a temple established by Tenkai under the Tokugawa shogunate's approval. Gukei, together with his father, must have felt that they were greatly indebted to Tenkai. Fortunately, Kan'ei-ji was not seriously damaged by the Great Fire of Meireki, and here Kiyomizu-dō is portrayed in much more detail. Its famous terrace is clearly depicted, and there are several people standing on it, appreciating the view of Shinobazu no Ike pond. The architectural features correctly represent the reality of the architectural style of Kiyomizu-dō, and it is portrayed on top of the hill that shows its strong association with the image of Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto. When we look towards the right of Kiyomizu-dō, we see a passageway that is extended around Shinobazu no Ike pond. It is also possible to identify the entrance gate of the Kan'ei-ji compound, and we can observe a much smaller roof structure on the sides of the pond. These entrance gates and the roofs are depicted in exactly the same way as they have been in previously introduced images. However, the depiction of shops where they sell food and alcohol is minimal in this screen, and the cloud hides these shops almost suggesting that they are not welome to be seen at a sacred site. However, enjoying the site itself was not something to be considered as unwelcome, and this is proved by the fact that people enjoy the view at Kiyomizu-dō within the artwork.

[520]Shimohara Miho, 2008. 'Sumiyoshiha ryūkō to tendaishū tono kankei ni tsuite' In *Kagoshima daigaku kyōiku gakubu kenkyū kiyō, nr.59*. Kagoshima: Kagoshima daigaku, p.36-37

Fig. 81: Hishikawa Moronobu, *Edo Fūzoku Zu byōbu* (1680's to 1694) right screen

Fig. 82: Hishikawa Moronobu, *Edo Fūzoku Zu byōbu* (1680's to 1694) left screen

Edo Fūzoku Zu byōbu (Fig. 81 and 82) was most likely made after 1680, and was painted by Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣 (1618-1694). Sensō-ji in winter is on the right screen, together with a view of Sumida River. On the left screen, Kan'ei-ji in the spring and Shinobazu no Ike pond are portrayed. We can presume that this set of folding screens was painted after the 1680s, since the size of the screen is too large for Moronobu to have painted in the early stages of his career. It also presents Kan'ei-ji as an almost completely secular site, where people come to visit in order to enjoy the cherry blossoms. The geographical placement of these locations is highly inaccurate, which indicates that selected sites were intentionally highlighted, and others were cut out by the painter. Kiyomizu-dō is depicted on the third panel's upper left part of the screen, painted almost as if this was an image from *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens. The tilted angle is towards the right screen, where people are shown enjoying the view from the hanging terrace and the cherry blossoms are starting to blossom at the bottom. When we look at the upper end of the second screen, towards the right-hand side

of the cherry blossoms, we see steps that lead people to Shinobazu no Ike pond. This is depicted on the left lower side of the left screen, which imitates the representation of Kiyomizu-dera in *rakuchū rakugai zu* and other *meishozu* type images.

It is unclear how far Hishikawa Moronobu understood the relationship between Kiyomizu-dō and Kiyomizu-dera, but this pictorial representation seems to suggest that by this point people understood Kiyomizu-dō to be a copy of Kiyomizu-dera. It is also worth mentioning that there is no description of Daibutsu at Kan'ei-ji in this screen. The reasons for this are unknown, but it is likely that by this time people did not directly make a connection between this Great Buddha and Hōkō-ji's Great Buddha and its hall. It is also interesting that a mountain-like shape appearing above the steps of Kiyomizu-dō is depicted. There is no higher mountain that can be seen around the area, and Mt. Atago is geographically in a completely opposite direction. The only possibility could be Mt. Tsukuba, which is located in present day Ibaraki Prefecture where sometimes it is described as an equivalent to Mt. Fuji for Edo,[521] but this is highly unlikely given the timescale and context. It may simply be a further reference to the style of Kiyomizu-dera and its surrounding area.

3.6.3 Kiyomizu at Kōrakuen

Kiyomizu-dō at Koishikawa Kōrakuen garden is not depicted in *Edozu byōbu*. The description of the actual building shown in Fig. 83 indicates it is a lower house of Tokugawa Yorifusa known as Mito Chūnagon. This mansion is portrayed on the 6th panel of the right screen on the upper end section. It is interesting that, while other surrounding samurai houses are either partially covered by the gold cloud or not revealed, this Koishikawa Kōrakuen clearly indicates and depicts almost the entire mansion in great detail. This is an indication that whoever commissioned the painting specifically ordered the studio to include this place as important. Since Iemitsu was involved in the making of Koishikawa Kōrakuen garden, which has already been explained, it supports the theory that this was made by someone very close to Iemitsu.

[521] Akimoto Yoshinori (2001) *Hitachi no Kuni Fudoki Zen Yakuchū,* Tokyo: Kōdansha

Fig. 83: *Edozu byōbu* (after 1631 and before 1634) close-up of Koishikawa Kōrakuen garden

In Figure 83, what we see around the Koishikawa Kōrakuen garden is mostly a watery scene, where a sandbank is portrayed in front of a semi-round shaped bridge in a *suhama* shape. The rock placed in the middle of the sandbank together with pine trees could well suggest that this was a representation of Mt. Hōrai, and beyond the bridge there is a waterfall which is likely to be a replication of Otowa waterfall at Kiyomizu-dera. These inclusions hint at the existence of a replicated Kiyomizu hiding somewhere under the golden cloud. It is also interesting to see a two-storey building where the first floor's windows are open, which suggests that the viewer was encouraged to use their imagination to place them selves into this building and overlook the garden. This, as previously mentioned, is quite a political act of *kunimi*. Sitting at one of the Tokugawa's mansions where Iemitsu involved in the planning of this garden and viewing the coloured maple leaves in the garden, overlooking the entire garden structure, together with the replicated and miniatuarised sacred site of the Kiyomizu, one could travel *nadokoro* beyond ones physical possibility.

3.7 Conclusion

Through analysing Kiyomizu-dera, Kiyomizu-dō and Kiyomizu at Kōrakuen garden, one can ascertain that Kiyomizu-dō copied Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto and Kiyomizu at Kōrakuen was also another copied site from both Kyoto and Edo through Tokugawa shogunates strong intentional involvement. Kiyomizu-dera was considered a *nadokoro* even

before the time of Hideyoshi, and later became a popular place for enjoying cherry blossoms and the view from its hanging terrace. This can be proven through looking at *waka*, manuscripts and visual materials. When the Tokugawa shogunate started to build Kan'ei-ji, the importance of replicating Kiyomizu-dera in their own religious site must have been understood. This understanding came not only from observing *waka,* but also through analysing *utsushi* which only strengthened this theory. The influence of *waka* was represented in images of *rakuchū rakugai zu* and other visual sources that depicted Kiyomizu-dera in Kyoto. On the other hand, in Edo, the visual materials not only represented famous sites, but also applied the concept of *utsushi,* which seems to be a convincing factor of replication.

Kiyomizu-dera also historically drew the devotion of different military personages, which gave the site an important meaning largely because of the association with these people and Iemitsu's faith in Kiyomizu-dera. Therefore, it is quite likely that Kiyomizu was not something of a secondary goal upon its construction at Kan'ei-ji, but it was rather one of the primary targets when copying religious sites from Kyoto in the city of Edo. Tenkai procured one of the main figures of worship from Kiyomizu-dera, which was the same Kannon deity as in Kyoto. That also confirms the importance placed by the Tokugawa shogunate on making certain that it appeared to be a legitimate copy of the Kyoto religious site. This is clearly imporant in order to make sure that the copied site is as close to the original from different aspects, such as – religion, politics and architecture. When looking at the research made in this thesis about Kiyomizu, logically positioning the facts, it is possible to think that the Tokugawa might have wanted to both appropriate Kyoto and place Edo within the historical Kyoto tradition. The popularity of the Kiyomizu site meant that it was not only copied in the compound of Kan'ei-ji but also in another official Tokugawa clan garden of Koishikawa Kōrakuen, where they also placed a Kannon figure and gave the place a name of Kiyomizu. The involvement of Iemitsu in the making of this garden also suggests the Tokugawa shogunate's strong intention in replicating one of the most famous places of Kyoto sites into their own territory. It is also interesting that this act of copying crossed the border of religious sects, as Kiyomizu-dera belonged to the Hossō sect while Kan'ei-ji was the headquarters of the Tendai sect. This 'borrowing' between religions and sects indicates the supremacy of political motivation over the religious theory. Therefore, through looking at the process of copying Kiyomizu, it convinces that this place was copied mainly to recreate the famous religious site and its architecture into Tokugawa's own space.

CHAPTER 4: DAIBUTSU

4.1 Introduction

There were certain conditions in order for a city to become the capital of early-modern Japan. One of these essential conditions is to have a Daibutsu: a 'Great Buddha'. Building architectural structures of religious figures can be commonly observed in various cultures, for instance the construction of Great Buddhas in China and within cathedrals in many European cities. For instance, there were many Buddhist figures such as Gautama Siddhārtha or other Buddhist deities which were carved in the cliffs of China for example Yungang Grottoes. And in Europe there are numerous numbers of either Jesus Christ or Mary, Mother of Jesus which have been presented in different art forms, and many of them when they appeared during the Byzantine period between 5th to the 15th century look like a copied version of previously presented works. Like in other countries, the Daibutsu in Japan was chosen not only for its religious associations but also for its usefulness in the political realm. Understanding the symbolism of Daibutsu in the capitals of Japan is essential in order to grasp the culture of copying in Japan's attempt to create political capitals.

According to the *Kōjien*, a Daibutsu is a statue of a Buddha which is more than 4.8 metres high.[522] It is usually found seated in the lotus position. The first Great Buddha was presumed to be created in either India or Afghanistan. With the spread of Buddhism, this type of sculpture spread into numerous countries in East and Central Asia. It made its way into Japan via China through the Korean peninsula and was adopted with enthusiasm.

This chapter will tackle the symbolism behind the Great Buddhas and how they served to validate rulers desire in order to make their own city as a political centre of Japan. In order to do so, this chapter will first examine Daibutsu in Nara, then Kamakura, before it examines both Daibutsu at Kyoto and Edo which were built within the main timeframe of the thesis. Although it is important to mention that neither the Imperial Court, Taira clan nor Ashikaga clan which were all based in Kyoto and controlled the capital prior to Hideyoshi, did not make a Daibutsu. These historical facts might provide an objection to my hypothesis that a capital city must have a Daibutsu, though, at the same time, if we examine the mindsets of these

[522] Shinmura Izuru (ed.) 2009. *Kōjien (Third edition)* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten

specific groups of leaders which did not wish to build a Daibutsu might have been because of the fact that Kyoto was already a capital and they might not have felt the need to present any more proof in order to legitimise their power. And a second speculation would be that the Daibutsu in Nara was intact during the years that these rulers govern Kyoto, but when the Daibutsu in Nara burned down in 1567, it might have triggered the need to re-instate a sort of power in their own city which was done by Hideyoshi in Kyoto.

Each site's historical developments will be explained with an emphasis on the relationship between religion and authority. Further, in the case of both Kyoto and Edo, the thesis will analyse how these sites were depicted in the visual materials for the purpose of unvailing authorities' intention behind building these copied sites.

4.2 Tōdai-ji Great Buddha, Nara

The first significant Great Buddha in Japan was commissioned by the reigning Emperor Shōmu (701-756) and housed at Tōdai-ji, Nara, in 741, not long after Nara had been established as the new capital, superseding Fujiwara-kyō. This occurred approximately two centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Japan. The Great Buddha at Tōdai-ji is an image of Vairocana 毘盧遮那仏 or Rushanabutsu 盧遮那仏, who is physically very similar to Gautama Siddhārtha, the founder of Buddhism. Rusha-nabutsu is the main figure that is said to exist in the Avatamsaka Sutra or "*buddhaava-tamsaka-naama-mahaa-vaipulya-suutra*". The figure shown below has been restored several times and the only remaining original parts are the seat, part of the stomach and part of the fingers. This image shows the present day Great Buddha Hall.

Fig. 84: Tōdai-ji Daibutsu, present day photograph

Fig. 85: Tōdai-ji Great Buddha Hall, present day photograph

The Great Buddha took ten years to be completed as it required a great deal of money and labour. Upon its completion, the Great Buddha's eye opening ceremony, the ceremony accompanying the unveiling of the monumental sculpture, was intended to create an image of the emperor as a devout Buddhist and create a new religious focal point for those under his rule. Monks were invited from India, China and the Korean peninsula who, together with hundreds of Japanese Buddhist monks, celebrated this historical event. This was the emperor's attempt at establishing an idealised Buddhist state through showing the superiority of Buddhism. However, in later centuries the Great Buddha and its hall were devastated by fire twice – once in 1180, and a second time in 1567. Soon after the first disaster, the Great Buddha was restored and its hall rebuilt, but this did not happen after the second disaster.

Gaspar Vilela, who visited[523] the Daibutsu in Nara before the year 1567 when it was severely damaged, claimed it to be as big as the tower of the gate at Evora, in Portugal.[524]

In the mid-16th century, [525] before Nara Daibutsu was severely damaged by fire, Jesuit physician Luis de Almeida refers to this Daibutsu as the statue of Shaka, which had both of his sons – Kannon and Seishi – on either side. He stated that it was made of copper, but that the two other statues of the sons were made of wood, and all of them were decorated with gold.[526] These two records which are stated by non-Japanese indicate that before this Daibutsu burned down even to Jesuits this was something amazing and the scale of this Daibutsu was surprising to them. This suggests that even by the time of the mid-16th century, Daibutsu and its hall had been a substantial site and that is possibly why, as discussed earlier, it meant Kyoto had no need to build a Daibutsu within the capital of Japan. The site had expressed its political significance for centuries and only a far distanced new political centre like Kamakura could have planned to implement a Daibutsu in their own territory. The severely damaged Daibutsu and its hall was partially restored, but was almost abandoned in the state of despair for some decades. It was only in the 1680s that a monk from Tōdai-ji was given permission from the Tokugawa shogunate to restore this Daibutsu, which was after the Daibutsu at Kan'ei-ji was

[523] *Bonsan,* 1999 [Online] Available from: http://www.phoenixbonsai.com/pre1800Refs/Japan1598.html [Accessed: 10 July 2015]
[524] Michael Cooper (ed.) 1995. *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640,* p. 382
[525] Luís de Almeida, 2006. *Luis De Almeida*. Koei Wiki website [Online] Available from: http://koei.wikia.com/wiki/Lu%C3%ADs_de_Almeida [Accessed: 12 July 2015]
[526] Michael Cooper (ed.) 1995. *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640*, p.335

completed. This will be focused on in a later section. This further confirms that Daibutsu at Kan'ei-ji took its roots from the Daibutsu at Nara, though this politically significant act is out of this thesis timescale.

4.3 The Kamakura Daibutsu

The Daibutsu was also revived in a different city: Kamakura. *Azuma Kagami*, an official volume on the history of the Kamakura shogunate, records that at that time, Kamakura was a remote and obscure location, where the fishermen and older men made the rules and decisions. It went on to rapidly develop in the mid to end of the Kamakura period. The population increased by twenty thousand people, which makes it one of the best examples of a rapidly growing city in the medieval period.[527]

Fig. 86: Kōtoku-in Daibutsu, present day photograph

[527]Ishii Susumu, 1989. 'Chusei toshi Kamakura – toshitoshiteno Kamakura'InIshii Susumu and Ōmiwa Katsuhiko (eds.)*Yomigaeṛu chusei vol.3 – bushino miyako Kamakura*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, p.28-43

While Kyoto had been the capital of Japan since 794, Kamakura was the political capital of Japan from 1192 to 1333 as the Kamakura shogunate had their headquarters located there. It is important to note that, after the Kamakura period people realised that a political center could locate ouside of Kyoto, where the emperor resides. When looking at Edo, it was also called a military capital by Ozawa Hiromu,[528] yet Kyoto remained the 'official' capital until the late 19th century due to the presence of the emperor.

In Kamakura, the Daibutsu took the form of Gautama Siddhārtha. No one knows exactly when and how the construction of the statue was decided upon, though as creating the Great Buddha always cost a large amount of money and also they were required to have a permission from the shogunate, which is why the Kamakura shogunate was involved in this construction. It is suggested to be a *copied* object because of a surviving manuscript in which it is written that construction of a wooden Daibutsu began in 1238.[529] Considering the first loss of the Daibutsu in Nara, and the following emergence of Kamakura as a rising power, there is a possibility to theorise that the city wanted to copy the Daibutsu in order to increase its political influence. Though, since there is no record that has credibility or mentioning the intention behind building this Daibutsu in Kamakura, the exact extent of religious, political and financial motivation is difficult to know.

The statue in Fig. 86 was constructed in 1490, after the renewal of the statue from the 1250s. Although it does not have the same features and size, it is easy to imagine the surprise people felt upon its completion. Unfortunately, the Great Buddha Hall in Kamakura was devastated by a typhoon in 1335 and was never restored.

Kamakura was the capital of the Minamoto clan. Minamoto no Yorinobu 源頼信 (968-1048) who, together with his elder brother Minamoto no Yorimitsu 源頼光 (948-1021), established unification amongst samurai in today's Kantō region, known as Kamakura-fu.[530] This is where the Kamakura shogunate was established at the end of the 12th century. When it

[528] Ozawa Hiromu, 2002. *Toshizu no keifu to edo*, p.62-101
[529] *Azuma Kagami,* c. 1266. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan
[530] It was called as Bandō or sometimes Tōgoku, Asmano kuni

collapsed in 1333, the new shogunate – the Muromachi shogunate – created the semi-autonomous regional organisation called *Kamakurafu*, [531]which governed the Kantō region.[532]

The first shogun of the Kamakura shogunate, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝（1147-1199), moved the Hachiman-gū shrine to a new location. It became the present-day Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū shrine, serving new residents of the chosen area. This indicates that Yoritomo considered both religious and political values when planning buildings. It is suggested that Kamakura was consciously planned alongside the city planning of Kyoto in order to make it a political city.[533] Because the shrine is located at the central area and the god of Hachiman-gū is believed to possess military power. A scholar Ōmiwa points out that this approach came from Minamotono Yoritomo's own background, even though he was born in a samurai family, he was raised in an aristocratic background in Kyoto. As Yoritomo's palace is the same style as the aristocratic houses in Kyoto, it makes sense that Yoritomo had some degree of interest towards Kyoto and that it could have influenced him when he created his own city of Kamakura.[534]

The city continued to exist after the reign of the Kamakura shogunate ended, and a strong religious presence persisted. Gion Tennōsha, now known as Yakumo shrine, which was established between 1081 and 1083, received a divided *kami* deity from Gion shrine, now known as Yasaka shrine in Kyoto. Like Gion, this Kamakura shrine also celebrated the seasonal ceremony of Gion-e, which was led by wealthy merchants who were often traders at Kamakura.[535] This provides support for the hypothesis that the Daibutsu in Kamakura is meant to be a replication of Daibutsu at Nara.

To briefly mention the political fall of Kamakura, although Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū remained intact, the decay of Kamakura's power and status became apparent around 1438 due to political turmoil in the area. In 1455, the last of the Kamakura *kubō*, a deputy shogun for the

[531] This is also called as *kantō-fu*, the head of this regional government was therefore called as either *Kamakura kubō* or *Kanto kubō* or sometimes – *Kanto gosho* or *Kamakura gosho*
[532] Uesugi Kazuhiko, 2007. *Sensō no nihon shi vol.6 genpei no sōran*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p.4-8
[533]Ōmiwa Katsuhiko, 1989. 'Kamakura no toshi teikaku – seiji toshi toshite gunji toshi toshite'In Ishii Susumu and Ōmiwa Katsuhiko, *Yomigaeru chusei vol.3 – bushino miyako Kamakura*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, p.44-45
[534] Ibid.
[535] Fujiki Hisashi, 1993. Chūsei Kamkura no gion-e to machishu In *Kanagawa chiikishi kenkyū vol.11*. Kanagawa: Kanagawa Chiikishi Kenkyū Kai, p.20-42

Kamakura-fu,[536] was ejected from Kamakura and moved to a new location, Koga. From this point, Kamakura's decline as a political centre in Kantō region became definitive. Kamakura was subsequently ruled by the Uesugi clan, and when they moved headquarters to the Kōzuke province in 1477 the political power of Kamakura was almost completely diminished. The land survey made by Hōjō clan in the first half of the 16th century proved that Kamakura no longer possessed a status over other powerful cities such as Kyoto and Osaka.

When Hōjō Fujitsuna (1487-1551) rebuilt Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū in 1532 after it was severely damaged by war, carpenters and builders were hired from both Kyoto and Nara for the reconstruction efforts. On completion of the building in 1544, the townsmen of Kamakura were given the duty of cleaning up the pond at the shrine. Shirai points out that, at the end of the Kamakura period, the city changed its characteristics from a political city to *monzenmachi,* a shrine town that put Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū at the core of the city.[537]

He suggests that the reason Hōjō restored Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū was to regain traditional authority, by supporting the most important religious institution in Kamakura in order to justify his leadership of the region. This type of attempt to regain traditional authority also happened in other places in medieval Japan. Kamakura, and especially Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū shrine, were considered to symbolise the political order which existed in the Kantō region which was implicitly understood by many people at this time.[538] Shirai continues that this is the same reason why Hideyoshi visited Kamakura in 1590 to restore the damaged Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū. In the 4th month of 1590, Hideyoshi arrived in Odawara in order to attack Hōjō Ujinao. As soon as he arrived he issued a law to religious institutions, including Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū, forbidding them from joining the war and committing other crimes.[539] Hōjō surrendered to Hideyoshi in the fifth day of the 7th month. Hideyoshi visited Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū on the seventeenth day of the 7th month, and saw the statue of Minamoto no Yoritomo enshrined at the Shirahata-sha shrine within the same compound. This led him to the idea of restoring the Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū shrine. Within the same month,

[536] *Ashikaga Shigeuji*
[537] Shirai Tetsuyama, 'Kinsei Kamakura jishamo saikō to meishoka – nr.177 seiki wo chūshinni' In Aoyagi Shūichi, Takano Toshihiko and Nishida Kaoru (eds.) *Kinsei no shukyōteki shakai vol.1 chiikino hirogari to shūkyō*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, p.271-296
[538] Ibid., p.275-276
[539] Sōshū monjo, Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū monjo and Hōkaiji monjo

Ieyasu also visited Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū and ordered his men to restore the roof.[540] On the first day of the 8th month in 1590, Ieyasu was given the eight domains of Kantō region and entered Edo. Hideyoshi gave yet another confirmation of the forthcoming restoration of Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū, but in the 5th month of 1591 Hideyoshi ordered Ieyasu to directly conduct this restoration project instead. Ieyasu's restoration of the building continued until 1593, and during that period Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū recorded frequent exchanges made between Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū and Hideyoshi as well as Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū and Ieyasu.[541] The above record indicates that both Hideyoshi and Ieyasu treated Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū with great care. The description of Ieyasu seeing the statue of Minamoto no Yoritomo, the first shogun of the Kamakura shogunate strongly suggests that Hideyoshi was cautious of its political message when restoring this historic shrine and seeing how Ieyasu, who was given the whole Kantō region, took over this restoration project. In this way Kamakura could be considered as a 'sacred place for samurai'.[542]

Ishii explains that Jōdo sect temples at Kamakura were also given preferential treatment by Ieyasu due to his faith in the sect. He states that "Kamakura in the Edo period became sort of an old capital, its location was subjected for visiting temples and shrines and a place for entertaining *meisho*. After the middle of the Edo period, visiting the Enoshima became popular amongst ordinary people in Edo, which shows Kamakura to be a popular place for sightseeing".[543]

Richard Cocks (1566-1624), the head of the British East India Company trading post at Hirado, left extensive documents including letters and journals with details on what he experienced when he was in Japan between 1620 and 1623. His documents have a particular importance as they are not written by or for a Japanese person, which offered a different perspective from that of Japanese people of that period, and was not affected by commonly held beliefs of the people at that time. On the eighteenth day of the 10th month 1616, Cocks writes "that which I did more admire than all the rest was a mighty idoll of bras[s], called by them Daibutsu, and standeth in a vallie betwixt 2 mountaynes, the howse being quite rotten away... This idoll is made sitting cros legged (telor lyke)... I was within the hollownes of it and

[540] Sōshū monjo
[541] Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū (ed.) 1996. *Tsurugaoka hachiman-gū nenpyō*. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, p.370-374
[542] Hara Junichiro, 2005. 'Kinsei ni okeru sankin kōdō to rekishi ishiki – kamakura no saihakken to kaiko shugi' In *Rekishi chirigaku nr.224*. Tokyo: Rekishichiri Gakkai, p.1-23
[543] Ishii Susumu and Ōmiwa Katsuhiko (eds.) *Yomigaen chusei vol.3 – bushino miyako Kamakura.* p.42

it is as large as a greate howse. I doe esteem it to be bigger then that at Roads, which was taken for 1 of the 7 wonders of the world... It is thought 3000 horses would nothing neare carry away the copper of this. In fine, it is a wonderfull thinge."

John Saris (1579-1643) was the captain of a trade ship, "The Clove". He and his ship belonged to the British East India Company, and they arrived in Japan in 1613. Richard Cocks, who later became the head of the Japanese trading post of this company, was also in the same ship. When the ship arrived at Hirado, Nagasaki, they departed to hand in a personal letter from James I to Tokugawa Ieyasu together with gifts. Saris passed Kamakura and saw the Daibutsu:

> "The country betwixt Suruga and Edo is well inhabited. We saw many hotoke or Temples as we passed, and amongst others one Image of especiall note, called Daibutsu, made of Copper, being hollow within, but of a very substantiall thicknesse. It was in height, as wee ghessed, from the ground about one and twentie foot, in the likeness of a man kneeling upon the ground, with his buttockes resting on his heeles, his armes of wonderfull largenesse, and the whole body proportionable. He is fashioned wearing of a Gowne. This Image is much reverenced by Travellers as they passe there. Some of our people went into the bodie of it, and hoope and hallowed, which made an exceeding great noyse. We found many Characters and Markes made upon it by Passengers, whom some of my followers imitated, and made theirs in like manner."[544]

Like Richard Cocks, this account confirms that the Daibutsu was popular and that is not solely because it is a religious statue, but its considerable size attracted Japanese people.

Saris was impressed by the scale of the Daibutsu. Due to his lack of exposure to Japanese culture of that time, he misunderstood the fact that the Daibutsu sat in a lotus position. His description was fairly accurate, and it is also notable that he witnessed Japanese people paying respect to Daibutsu when passing. Another vital piece of information from his comments is that people had access to the inside of the Daibutsu and were even engraving or writing on it. Above records suggest that Daibutsu has an aspect of *meisho* to a certain degree.

[544]Michael Cooper (ed.) 1995. *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640.*

The Daibutsu at Kamakura is about 30 percent smaller in size than the Great Buddha in Tōdai-ji. It is made out of copper, and the height is around 11 metres and 40 cm in total. The positioning of its hands on the legs, with both index fingers and thumbs making two circles, references the Buddhist *mudra* of Jōbon Jōshō or Mida Jōin which represents the highest state of enlightment. This therefore indicates the Kamakura Daibutsu is Amida Nyorai or in Sanskrit - Amitābha Buddha.

The Great Buddha, which is known as the Kamakura Daibutsu or Hase Daibutsu, is in Daiisan Kōtoku-in 高徳院 Shōjōsenji. Although this Daibutsu was well known, there are almost no records stating who built it, when, how and for what reason. In *Azuma Kagami* the first appearance of the wooden Daibutsu is on the twenty third day of the 3rd month of 1238. This record also says that this marked the beginning of building the Daibutsu.[545] It is stated that a monk called Jōkō asked for donations from people in different social classes to make the construction of the statue possible. This was the time when Fujiwara no Yoritsune, who came from Kyoto, was the fourth shogun of the Kamakura shogunate. In the 5th month of the same year, less than two months later, the Daibutsu appeared in the records again. The Daibutsu's head had just been placed, and the measurement of the diameter was about 24 metres. Descriptions of the Daibutsu reappeared in 1231 and 1233 in the same record, and a later entry on the sixteenth day of the 6th month of 1243[546] says that an eye-opening ceremony had been held. Jōkō also attended the ceremony: for the past six years he had travelled Kyoto and other places asking for donations. However, it is also notable that the scale of the ceremony was not particularly grand. Although the Abbot was invited he only took 10 monks, which does not seem particularly suitable for a ceremony celebrating the completion of a national project. Although we do not know how much the Kamakura shogunate was involved in this project, it is worth mentioning that Minamoto no Yoritomo attended an inauguration ceremony and an eye-opening ceremony at the restored Great Buddha Hall in 1195. Although there is no record that supports this theory, I believe that this event in 1195 indicates Yoritomo's understanding of how politically important it was to attend this ceremony. It is possible to speculate that this was also understood when the Daibutsu at Kamakura was created.

[545] *Azuma kagami* vol.32. (c. 1290-1304) Tokyo: National Diet Library
[546] *Azuma kagami* vol.35. (c. 1290-1304) Tokyo: National Diet Library

As mentioned before, This Kamakura Daibutsu presumably was not made of copper, but made out of wood. This is because it is impossible to create such a large Buddhist statue from copper in such a small period of time. This is also supported by *Tōkan Kikō*.[547]

The first appearance in the records of the Great Buddha at Kamakura was on the senenteenth day of the 8th month in 1252. On this day, the record states that the casting had started. At this time the shogun was Prince Munetaka 宗尊親王 (1242-1274), however he was only 11 at this time and had arrived in Kamakura just four months earlier. The previous shogun, Fujiwara no Yoritsugu 藤原頼嗣 （1239-1256), was at this point expelled to Kyoto together with his father, the fourth shogun, Fujiwara no Yoritsune. Fujiwara no Yoritsugu was only 15, therefore it is most likely that it was Fujiwara no Yoritsune who approved this casting of the Great Buddha if the Kamakura shogunate had any involvement in the project. Since the scale of the Kamakura Daibutsu, although smaller than the one in Nara, is substantial, it is both unrealistic and impossible to conduct such a large project without the involvement of the Kamakura shogunate and the influence of its authority. Although *Azuma Kagami* did not record the progress of the Daibutsu after this date, the Daibutsu was eventually completed in its present form. The Great Buddha Hall was built as an accompanying attraction to celebrate the completion of the Great Buddha. *Kamakura Ōnikki*, which records events related to the Ashikaga clan in the Kantō region chronologically, indicates the collapse of the Great Buddha Hall in 1369. This perhaps depicts the same event which is described in the *Taiheiki,* which states that the Great Buddha Hall collapsed in a typhoon in 1335. At the end of the 15th century (potentially 1495), the Great Buddha and its hall were hit by a tsunami. *Kamakura Ōnikki* states that a huge earthquake caused flooding, and the sea water reached to a point of Shimouma Yotsutsuji.[548], that is very close to the present-day Kamakura station. The year when *Kamakura Ōnikki* depicts the tsunami hitting Kamakura would be simpler to identify if this damage was caused by the Nankai earthquake in 1498, which is known as the *Meiō Jishin*. The waters broke into the Great Buddha Hall and more than 200 people drowned. However, at

[547] c. 1232. This work is attributed to Kamono Chōmē, but now it is commonly understood that the author is anonymous

[548] This place was described as Sendodan. The detailed research about this earthquake was described in the following – Fujita Kazuo (ed.) 1989. *Zoku kojishin – Jitsuzō to Kyozō*. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai – including the analysis of *Kamakura Ōnikki*.

this time, the Great Buddha Hall did not exist, which led Yamamoto to question the authenticity of this record.[549]

Ueda also supports Yamamoto's suggestion that the Great Buddha Hall did not exist at that time by referring to Zen monk and poet Banri Shūku's 万里集九（1428-unknown) travel journal, *Baika Mujinzō*, which is written in a form of Chinese poetry.[550] This record indicates that there was no Great Buddha Hall at the time it was written.[551][552]

Unfortunately, there are no documents to either support or deny these events described by *Kamakura Ōnikki*. No pictorial information has survived from that time, which means that further archaeological research needs to be conducted in order to specify the status of Daibutsu during these centuries. However, based on these descriptions, it is difficult to imagine that, after the collapse of the Kamakura shogunate, nobody had sufficient power to finance the building of the Great Buddha Hall from 1369 until the tsunami hit in 1495. Therefore, it seems natural to conclude that the Daibutsu had been sitting outside from at least the late-14th century.

The Daibutsu was under the control of Kenchō-ji, which was one of the five Zen temples in Kamakura which all belonged to the Rinzai sect. These five temples are also known as the 'five mountains', and the shogunate designated head monks at the temples in order to put the temples under the control of the shogunate. This system was created by Hōjō Tokiyori (1227-1263) who based it upon a similar system that already existed in China. Later, Kyoto also created their 'five mountains' of Rinzai Zen temples.

Shirai mentions that until the second half of the 17th century members of the samurai class who were not relatives of the Tokugawa family, as well as other people in Edo who supported Kamakura, visited the site which contributed to its popularity.[553] Presumably the background of these visits is tracable back to the ancestral roots of Minamoto clan which Tokugawa claimed. The late-17th century was a time when the public's interest in Kamakura

[549] Yamamoto Takeo, 1989. 'Meiō nananen (1498) no kaiyō jishin – izu itō ni okeru shojōkyō' in *Kojishin zoku jitsuzō to kyozō* Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, p.343-364
[550] Hanawa Hokiichi (ed.) 1927. *Zoku gunsho ruiju vol.12*. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruiju Kansekai
[551] People could freely go inside the hollow Daibutsu itself and that some were even gambling inside the body
[552] Ueda Kazutaka, 2013. 'Kamakura no meiō tsunami – Daibutsu den wa nagasareta noka'in *Kanagawaken onsen chigaku kenkyūjo kansoku dayori nr.63*. Odawara: Kanagawaken Onsen Chigaku Kenkyūjo, p.8-12
[553] Shirai Tetsuyama, 'Kinsei Kamakura jishamo saikō to meishoka – nr.177 seiki wo chūshinni', p.291

increased. In 1685 Tokugawa Mitsukuni ordered the creation of choreographies which are called *Kamakura Nikki*. This suggests that Kamakura became a popular destination for visiting *meisho*, or the idea of *nadokoro* attached to Kamakura, was created around this time. Though, the city did not gain major public interest until the 18th century. It is interesting, and at the same time important to mention, that although Kamakura has a longer history as a city, the publication of Edo guidebooks were earlier. This means that at that time, Kamakura did not hold the same popularity as other cities such as ancient Kyoto or rapidly thriving Edo and this is why there is no Daibutsu image available.

4.4 Kyoto Daibutsu, Hideyoshi

Murayama Shūichi comments on Hideyoshi's Daibutsu as being "his last monument of conquering Japan, at the same time, it became a symbol of his rulership's end. There is nothing else but this building which condenses the stream of history."[554]

About 20 years after the second devastating fire that left the Nara Great Buddha in a much-diminished state, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the new ruler of Japan, ordered the creation of a new Great Buddha. However, the new Great Buddha was not to be built in Nara but rather in Kyoto, the capital at the time. It is unknown why a Daibutsu was not either created or replicated earlier to the time of Hideyoshi in Kyoto. There were times that samurai took military control over Kyoto before him and, especially under the Ashikaga shogunate. They had both a political and economic stability to some degree. The Imperial court could have made a Daibutsu in their new capital when they moved from Nara, although they likely did not have enough resources or did not want to build it since it reminds them of the political interference that Nara Court had suffered from religious institutions in Nara such as Tōdai-ji, though this remains as speculation. Since Buddhist institutions themselves could not afford to finance such monuments, we see that secular yet devout powers take over in funding the building of the Great Buddhas. Here we can see a shift in power from religious institutions to political institutions.

[554]Murayama Shūchi, 2003. *Kyoto daibutsugoten seisuiki.* Kyoto: Hōzōkan, p.147

However, Kawauchi points out, the first appearance of *Hōkō-ji* was around the first half of the Edo period.[555] *Fusō Kyōka Shi*, which was published c.1665, states that the site was known as *Daibutsuden Hōkō-ji.* Kawauchi further states that there are no other records naming the site as *Hōkō-ji* before the mid-17th century. This is also proven by documents, which were written during the same time, describing the Great Buddha at Kyoto.

Although there is no reason in principle to disagree with Kawauchi's assertion that the first appearance of the name *Hōkō-ji* was in 1665, another source suggests that the same name appeared before. Saishō Jōtai built a temple called Hōkō-ji within the temple compound of Shōkoku-ji Kyoto in 1599.[556] This Hōkō-ji, unlike the Hōkō-ji which our main focus is on, shares the same pronunciation of the word and the *hō* character which means 'richness'. It also can be pronounced '*toyo*', which is the same character used for Toyotomi's '*toyo*'. The *kō* on the other hand, has a different meaning: light. This temple was built a year after the death of Hideyoshi in 1598. Since Saishō Jōtai was an influential monk, the name was given in order to praise the bright side of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and his clan that Saishō Jōtai was closely associated with. After building this temple, Saishō Jōtai himself was sometimes called *Hōkō-ji.* Gien at Daigo-ji recorded that the name *Hōkō-ji* was mentioned to symbolise Saishō Jōtai, two days before the same diary records the ritual of *senzō'e* (which will be explained later in this thesis) in 1605.[557] As Toyokuni-jinja, which enshrines Hideyoshi as a god of Toyokuni no Daimyōjin, also has a religious function to protect Hōkō-ji Daibutsu, its name could be pronounced as Hōkoku-ji. The shared understanding of these temples, and their names which could be pronounced similarly, potentially plant the idea of calling the Daibutsu in Kyoto and its hall Hōkō-ji later on.

In the second half of the 16th century, the Great Buddha at Nara was severely damaged. The state of the Great Buddha at Kamakura was also not in a good condition due to the lack of general interest in the statue. Both Nara and Kamakura were not yet under the full control of Hideyoshi, which is why, when Hideyoshi ordered and built Hōkō-ji Daibutsu, it was simply known as *Daibutsu*, [558] *Higashiyama Daibutsu* or *Shin Daibutsu*. [559] People in Kyoto understood this to be the only Daibutsu which was worth mentioning, and this understanding

[555] Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no daibutsu zōryū.* Kyoto: Hōzōkan, p.56
[556] Saishō Jōtai (1985) *Kokushi daijitten vol.6.* Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan
[557] Hōgetsu Keigo, Yanaga Teizō and Sakai Nobuhiko,2006. *Gien Jugō Nikki vol.4.* Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, p.36
[558] *Tokitsune Kyō Ki* on the 24th day of the 11th month 1592
[559] Tamonin Nikki, c. 1478 to 1618. In Rizō, T. ed., 1978. *Zoku Shiryō Taisei, Vols. 38-42*. Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten

continued to exist until the beginning of the Edo period. This is when the Tokugawa shogunate started to build their own Daibutsu at Kan'ei-ji, followed by restorations made to both of the Daibutsu at Nara and Kamakura. Although this Daibutsu has been just called *Daibutsu* by some, many people at that time were aware of the existence of other Daibutsu, especially the Nara Daibutsu. We can see this in the names it was given, such as *Shin Daibutsu* which means 'New Daibutsu' or the Daibutsu at Kyoto.[560]

The Portuguese Jesuit, Luis Frois (1532-1597), reported that Hideyoshi ordered the construction of a Daibutsu at Nara near to a large temple that held a thousand gold lacquered Buddhist statues in Kyoto.[561] This was a clear indication of Hideyoshi's intention to make a copy of the Daibutsu at Nara in Kyoto, because this large temple that possessed a thousand Buddhist statues can only mean the Sanjūsangen-dō in Higashiyama.

Kawauchi refers to a biography called *Kokei Gyōjō*, which states that a monk called Kokei Sōchin 古渓宗陳 (1532-1597) and Hideyoshi climbed Mt. Funaoka to overlook the scenery of Higashiyama. In the record, Hideyoshi is quoted as saying that "there is a holy land in Higashiyama, we need to create Shana Daibutsu[562] which is as large as Tōdai-ji and you (Kokei Sōchin) should become the founder of the temple!"[563] As a result, Hideyoshi and Kokei Sōchin measured the land of Higashiyama and built the foundation of the temple. Kawauchi is, however, sceptical about how much this writing should be trusted.[564] He states that the location of the Daibutsu was carefully selected for its strategic importance. This location connects Jurakudai palace, Osaka castle, Fushimi and Ōtsu castle.[565]

In 1586, Hideyoshi ordered the building of a Daibutsu on his way to Osaka from Kyoto, and this appeared in a diary called *Kanemi Kyōki*. *Rakuchū rakugai zu* depicting both Jurakudai palace[566] and The Great Buddha Hall place each in a central position on the screens, signifying their equal importance, but this trend in the artworks only exists for about a year. In the 2nd

[560] Ibid., 24th day of the 9th month 1593
[561] Luis Frois, 2000. *Kanyaku furoisu nihon shi vol.5 Toyotomi Hideyoshi hen II 'bokun' Hideyoshi no yabō*. trans. Matsuda Kōitchi and Kawasaki Tōta, Tokyo: Chūkō Bunkō, 17th day, 10yh month, 1586
[562] Vairocana
[563] Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no Daibutsu zōryū.* Kyoto: Hōzōkan
[564] Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no Daibutsu zōryū*, p.20-21
[565] Although Kawauchi does not mention, this is an act of *kunimi* in which this new militaly ruler committed, or at least it was believed to be committed.
[566] Jurakudai was originally called Utchino no Okamae.

month of 1586 the building of Jurakudai started. This coincided with the construction of Osaka castle. It is believed that Jurakudai was completed around the 9th month of 1587.[567] In 1595, Jurakudai palace was destroyed when Hideyoshi expelled Hidetsugu, his younger brother. The construction of the Daibutsu started from 1588. This indicates that Hideyoshi commissioned to build this Daibutsu together with other politically and militarily crucial buildings which further suggest the importance of making a Daibutsu. A monk at Mt. Kōya called Mokujiki Ōgo 木食応其 (1536-1608) was in charge of this construction. The craftsmen who constructed the Great Buddha hall lived around the area of the Great Buddha, and were called *daibutsu daiku* (literally meaning 'Daibutsu carpenters').[568] In the 5th month of 1588, the Shinto ritual of purifying this building site was conducted. According to *Tamonin Nikki,*[569] people in Kyoto were given rice paste and alcohol by Hideyoshi to celebrate the completion of the site. Although there is some detail available, Kawauchi states that the process of how the Daibutsu was built is not clear. He draws upon *Tamonin Nikki*'*s* description, in which Hideyoshi's brother Hidenaga visited the site to prepare for the building of Daibutsu. In *Tamonin Nikki*, it is written that the *Shaka* Daibutsu was cast in the 2nd month of 1589. This contradicts Kamata's description of when the casting of the Daibutsu started. In either case it indicates Toyotomi's vast interest in using his retainers to conduct the building process of Daibutsu.[570] Powerful samurai were appointed to take part in this construction project. Around four to five thousand people worked at the construction site, and these workers were supplied by samurai.[571] Samurai were also asked to provide building materials, and this request made by the Toyotomi regime was also given to Ieyasu. In the 8th month of 1589 Ieyasu was asked to provide wood from Mt. Fuji, which was ultimately used to make a pillar at the Daibutsu.[572] By that point, Maeda Gen'i, who served for Hideyoshi as a *shoshidai* or the local governor of Kyoto, was responsible for the construction of Daibutsu.

[567]Kamata Michitaka, 1994. 'Nishino juraku higashi no daibutsu'In Murai Yasuhiko (ed.) *Kyōno rekishi to bunka vol.4 Aya: Tenka bitono tōjō*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, p.172-179

[568]Yokota Fuyuhiko, 1898. 'Kinsei toshito shokunin shūdan'InTakahashi Yasuo and Yoshida Nobuyuki (eds.) *Nihon toshishi nyūmon III hito*,Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, p.37-40

[569]This is a record made at Tamonin at Kōfuku-ji temple, Nara, which took form of daiary style. It started in 1478 and ends in 1618. Multiple authors in the temple wrote this record. One of the majour author of this record is Tamonin Eishun (1518-1596) and he wrote record for about 60 years.

[570] Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no Daibutsu zōryū,* p,48-49

[571] Ibid., p.32-35

[572]*Tōdaiki*

In the 5th month of 1591, the building of the Great Buddha Hall started.[573] In 1593, the framework of The Great Buddha Hall was made.[574] After this, the roof of The Great Buddha Hall was finished during the 9th month of 1594.[575]

There are different theories about the actual date when the Daibutsu and its hall were completed, and this thesis will discuss several. Miyamoto writes that, in 1593, Hideyoshi celebrated the completion of The Great Buddha Hall and conducted a memorial service for his parents.[576] This cannot however be completely confirmed.

Tamonin Nikki states that the Daibutsu was almost completed at around the end of the 7th month in 1594, a year after Miyamoto claims.[577] Kamata, on the other hand, says that it was already 1595 when the Great Buddha Hall at Hōkō-ji was close to completion,[578] and Kawauchi believes that the Daibutsu and the temple were only close to being finished in 1596.[579] It is not totally clear when the Great Buddha Hall was completed, but since the crucial Buddhist ritual of *senzō'e* took place in 1595 we can presume that the completion of the Great Buddha Hall is more likely to be in 1595 as per Kamata's writing.[580] Luis Frois wrote about the Great Buddha, saying that "because this icon is huge they had to build this first and the temple building is constructed to surround it. An enormous number of people were called from all over the countries."[581] This conversely supports the argument that the Daibutsu itself is likely to have been almost completed around 1593-1594, as that is around the time the roof of The Great Buddha Hall was constructed.

The intention of the previously mentioned ritual of *senzō'e* was to pray for a peaceful afterlife for Hideyoshi's grandparents.[582] Kawauchi says that the first *senzō'e* ritual was practised at the Hōkō-ji temple from the 9th month in 1595,[583] and it was conducted on a

[573]Kamata Michitaka, 1994. 'Nishino juraku higashi no daibutsu'
[574]*Tamonin Nikki*
[575] A letter from Mokujiki to Hideyoshi in *Kōyasan monjo*
[576]Miyamoto Kenji, 2000. *Kenchikuka Hideyoshi – ikōkara suirisuru senjutstu to kenchiku toshi puran.* Tokyo: Jibun Shoin, p.182
[577]*Tamonin Nikki,* 22nd day of the 7th month, 1594
[578]Kamata Michitaka, 1994. 'Nishino juraku higashi no daibutsu'
[579] Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no Daibutsu zōryū,* p.55
[580]Hōgetsu Keigo, Yanaga Teizō and Sakai Nobuhiko (2006)*Gien Jugō Nikki*, 29th day of the 1st month 1596.
[581]Luis Frois, 2000. *Kanyaku furoisu nihon shi vol.5 Toyotomi Hideyoshi hen II 'bokun' Hideyoshi no yabō.*
[582]Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no Daibutsu zōryū,* p.65-66
[583]Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no Daibutsu zōryū,* p.60

monthly basis since it was first introduced. *Senzō'e* literally means 'a thousand monks', yet this ritual was conducted with 700-800 monks due to a lack of available religious followers. It required eight Buddhist sects to provide monks for it: the Tendai sect, the Shingon sect, the Zen sect, the Jōdo sect, the Ritsu sect, the Nichiren sect, the Jishū sect and the Ikkō sect. At the beginning, these sects encountered problems working and co-operating with each other, because it was not common practise at that time in Japanese history. Traditional Buddhist sects, such as the Tendai sect, disliked praying together with relatively new religious sects such as the Nichiren sect and the Ikkō sect. Even traditional sects themselves disputed which sect should play the leading role for the ritual. From the beginning of this *senzō'e* ritual, the Tendai monk Dōchō was appointed to maintain Hōkō-ji. Even after this appointment, a hierarchical order for the monks and sects was not firmly established by the Toyotomi clan. This *senzō'e* ritual had an eye opening ritual as per tradition, which had taken place for the Daibutsu in Tōdai-ji, Nara. When Nara Daibutsu was completed, it is said that as many as ten thousand monks attended to celebrate this event. At this time Hideyoshi did not consider powerful religious temples as individual institutions, but rather as part of a larger sect. He gained this understanding through the example set by the relationship between Tō-ji and Daigo-ji, which both had strong links to the Shingon sect.[584]

In 1596, an earthquake caused the Great Buddha to collapse. This happened right before a scheduled ritual celebrating the full completion of both the Daibutsu and its hall. Kawauchi mentions that the Hossō sect was asked to join this ceremony, and that the reason was to more closely follow the same ritual that took place at Tōdai-ji in 1195.[585] The damage this earthquake made to the Daibutsu caused the collapse of the left hand as well as its chest, yet strangely the Great Buddha Hall was unharmed.[586] Hideyoshi seemed very unhappy about this, and *Rokuon Nichiroku* states that Hideyoshi deplored the collapse of the Daibutsu for the ineffectiveness of its divine blessing, because Hideyoshi was disappointed by the divine power that the Daibutsu was purported to possess.[587] *Rokuon Nichiroku* also shows that Hideyoshi had a dream in which he saw Nyorai at Zenkō-ji and Nyorai expressed his wish to move to Kyoto. This Nyorai of Zenkō-ji was moved by several warlords previously, such as Takeda Shingen, Oda Nobunaga and his son Nobutada. Hideyoshi ordered the monk Gien to welcome

[584] Ibid., p.64
[585] Ibid., p.111
[586] *Gien Jūgō Nikki*
[587] J. Tsuji, Z. (ed.) (1961-62) *Rokuon Nichiroku*. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai.7th day of the 7th month 1597

Nyorai at Ōtsu through Maeda Gen'i, who was a deputy in Kyoto at that time. Nyorai was then accommodated at the Great Buddha hall at Hōkō-ji.[588] This indicates how one Buddhist statue being treated with such great care, not only by monks from the same temple and devout warlords but also by many figures who sometimes even appeared to be anti-religious like Nobunaga. This further shows how these Buddhist statues of large temples were treated, therefore it's important when considering a statue that was moved from Kiyomizu-dera to Kiyomizu-dō, which has been explained in a previous chapter of the thesis. The arrival of Nyorai was also welcomed by other high ranked religious officials.[589] It became the main figure of worship in the Great Buddha Hall at Hōkō-ji, replacing the Daibutsu. However, when Hideyoshi became quite ill in 1598, he decided to move Nyorai back to Kai, where it belonged originally.[590] This was only two days before Hideyoshi's death on the eighteenth day of the 8th month in 1598, and he was buried at Amidagamine in Higashiyama, Kyoto, on the twenty second day of the same month. He was 63 years old. This return of Nyorai, according to Murayama, was caused by an evil spell that had been cast upon it and the request to move it back to Kai was made by his wives, Nene and Yodo.[591] This reinforces the belief that the ruling classes still had a strong belief in the power of spirits, and the importance they placed on honouring and placating them. The difference here may be in the moving of a worshipped figure – it was not duplication. Copying a deity or spirits force and power into another location was seen as beneficial, yet moving it was more likely to cause disruption and suffering. This might be one of the reasons why Edo replicated these sacred sites, rather than use their political power to move an entire religious architecture from Kyoto, though this exceeds the thesis ability to examine further.

The celebration of completing the Great Buddha Hall took place only four days after Hideyoshi's death. Miki considered this celebratory ritual as Hideyoshi's funeral ceremony,[592] since around 1,000 monks, led by both Dōchō and Gien, attended it together with imperial attendants. To witness this event, people from different social ranks gathered around the Great Buddha Hall the day before the ceremony took place. However, Kawauchi disagrees with this view of the ritual being Hideyoshi's funeral, since his body was placed inside Fushimi castle.

[588] Hōgetsu Keigo, Yanaga Teizō and Sakai Nobuhiko (2006) *Gien Jugō Nikki vol.1,* p.146
[589] Ibid., p.147-148
[590] Yamashina Kototsune (1914) *Kototsune Kyō Ki*. Tokyo: Toshokankōkai, 16th day of the 8th month
[591] Murayama Shūchi, 2003. *Kyoto daibutsugoten seisuiki,* p.115-116
[592] Miki Seiichirō, 1987. 'Hōkoku-sha no zōei ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu'In *Shigaku vol.33 nagoya daigaku bungakubu kenkyū ronshū.* Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu, p.198

The very purpose of the bodies' placement the castle for a relatively long period was not to conduct a funeral.[593] Hideyoshi wanted to raise his status after death, not as a human being, but to the point of being deified. Not having a usual Buddhist funeral ritual was essential in the medieval understanding to accomplish this aim.

We can also understand this ceremony, or the 'funeral', in a more symbolic context that reflected Hideyoshi's pragmatic understanding of religion during his life. Hideyoshi was not strongly devoted to a specific religion. Rather, he used religion as a tool to increase his presence and influence over different fields, such as to control other warlords and religious institutions. It is clear that he wanted to be deified. Even so, his ultimate purpose was not to become a god but to increase the status of his own clan. Perhaps, as Kawauchi stated, he too understood that it was not appropriate to receive a funeral if you were expected to be deified later on. However, both Hideyoshi and his clan wanted to use his death as an opportunity to indicate his authority to the people. His death was not officially declared immediately, so that no ordinary people knew about it when this event took place. Furthermore, if Hideyoshi was to have a funeral, then this new and highly-anticipated Great Buddha Hall was the most appropriate site. This is supported by the fact that the Great Buddha Hall was used to pray for peace in the afterlife for the Toyotomi clan, as well as for national protection. Therefore, my understanding of this event is that this was a deliberately impressive funeral ritual conducted by highly-ranked monks and with imperial servants, under the name of the *Daibutsu Kuyō*[594] which means 'a memorial service'. When the event took place, The Great Buddha Hall at last celebrated its placement of the Daibutsu, which symbolically was represented by the soul of Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

Research indicates that no main figure of worship was placed at the temple between Hideyshi's death and 1600. At the turn of the century, Hideyori decided that the damaged Daibutsu was to be restored, and that this time it would be cast in metal rather than made from wood.[595] One explanation why it took two years for Hideyori to give the order to recreate the Daibutsu could be that the Toyotomi clan was preoccupied with building Hōkoku-sha, which enshrines Hideyoshi as the Shinto deity Toyokuni Daimyōjin. However, the importance of the

[593] Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no Daibutsu zōryū*, p.171-174
[594] Hōgetsu Keigo, Yanaga Teizō and Sakai Nobuhiko (2006) *Gien Jugō Nikki*, 17th day of 7th month 1598, also in the 19th day of the same month
[595] Murayama Shūchi, 2003. *Kyoto daibutsugoten seisuiki,* p.116

Great Buddha Hall and the meaning behind it was well understood. The construction of another Great Buddha therefore started in the 10th month of 1600. Even though the reconstruction didn't go as smoothly as planned due to the Battle of Sekigahara, it was finished only four months after the casting started. This slight delay was caused due to the forced retirement of the monk Mokujiki Ōgo, who was in charge of the construction of the Daibutsu and its hall for both the first and the second construction projects. During the Battle of Sekigahara, Mokujiki negotiated with people close to Ieyasu. In order to do so, he had to reveal sensitive information about Toyotomi clan in order to make himself look more trustworthy. This led to his retirement at his own suggestion. However, yet again in 1602 the Daibutsu, which was still in the process of being cast, burned down.[596]

Another interesting insight into how the Kyoto Daibutsu looked can be seen from the diary of Diego de Bermeo, who arrived in Japan in 1603.[597] He describes specific details of the statue, for example that "the opening of the nostrils is about five and a half feet long."[598] He also comments on other parts of the statue being extremely large, and on the positioning of the body – it was seated, and the legs were not hanging but rather crossed one over the other. John Saris visited the Daibutsu in Kyoto in 1613[599] and stated that it was made out of copper and the natives called it Amida.[600]

Unfortunately, there was a fire in 1602 which burned down the Daibutsu together with The Great Buddha Hall. In the 6th month of 1610[601] Hideyori restarted the project of reconstructing the Daibutsu. This time, Hideyoshi's money was used to cast the Daibutsu. This Daibutsu was completed up to the point just before plating it with gold. The Great Buddha hall and the Daibutsu itself were finally completed in 1612.[602] This construction project of both Daibutsu and its hall left the Toyotomi clan with a large economic burden. This is stated in the

[596]Murayama, S., 2003. *Kyoto Daibutsugoten Seisuiki*. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, p.116
[597]Antonio de Morga, 1868. *The Philippine islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the close of the sixteenth century.* Trans. Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas. London: Hakluyt Society, Printed for the Hakluyt Society Society, p.231
[598] Ibid., p.336
[599]Sir Ernest Mason Satow (ed.) 1900. *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613.* London : Printed for the Hakluyt Society
[600] Michael Cooper (ed.) 1995. *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640,* p.275
[601]*Tōdaiki*, 12th day 6th month
[602]Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, 1998. *Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan kōnai hakkutsu chōsa genchi setsumeikai shiryō*, Kyoto: Kōeki Zaidan Hōjin p.4

Tōdaiki,[603] which mentions that a total of 180 pillars were used in the construction. Each one cost so much money that, together with the handling cost, Hideyoshi's gold and silver was fully spent.

The simple yet fundamental question, why Hideyori ordered to rebuild the Great Buddha after he lost total control of Japan following the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 still needs to be answered. As stated, the amount that the Toyotomi's spent on this reconstruction project was enormous, although this was supported by other daimyo. Even after the burning down of the Daibutsu in 1602, Toyotomi attempted to recreate the Daibutsu and its hall at great expense. The most reasonable answer to this question comes from the understanding of the political situation in which both the Toyotomi and Tokugawa clans were involved. Until quite recently, researchers on this topic agreed that Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at the Battle of Sekigahara established his political hegemony. This is supported by his appointment as Seii Taishōgun, a role with which he had the right to open his own shogunate.[604] However, this appointment of Ieyasu as the first shogun of the bakufu (shogunate) also threatened Hideyori's political position as a son of Hideyoshi, who has a right to become the most powerful person in Japan. Ieyasu made an effort to relax this political tension through sending letters to Hideyori and sending gifts to Toyotomi clan members.[605] According to Kasaya Kazuhiko,[606] this situation – which spans from the appointment of Ieyasu as Seii Taishōgun until the fall of the Toyotomi clan in 1615 – is known as the time of *nijū kōgi*, literally meaning 'double authority'.[607] Matsushima Jin states that "1600 to 1615 seems like a peaceful period; however during these 15 years there were political, economic and cultural competitions between Ieyasu and Hideyori. As a successor of Hideyoshi these seemingly peaceful 15 years were in fact a period of 'cold war' which was surrounded by highly political and cultural tension."[608]

[603] 16th day of the 6th month 1610

[604] Various sources such as Tsuji Tatsuya, 1966. *Edo kaifu*. Tokyo: Chūōkoronsha, Takagi Shōsaku, 1975. *Edo bakufu no seiritsu*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten and Mizumoto Kunihiko (2008) *Zenshū nihon no rekishi vol. 10 Tokugawa no kokka dezain*. Tokyo: Shogakukan. share this understanding

[605] Awata Mototsugu, 1927. *Edo Jidaishi vol.1*, p.82-96. Note: Originally published in 1927 and reprinted in 1976 from a publisher called Kondō Shuppan

[606] Kasaya Kazuhiko, 2000. *Sekigahara kassen to kinsei no kokusei*. Tokyo: Shibunkaku, p.134-154

[607] The word *kōgi* originally meant the Imperial court, then the administration of Ashikaga shogunate, and later the word is understood to include a system of government which has a political presence and holds a political autonomy. This is also understood as shogunate itself. For a more detailed understanding of the word and its meaning please also refer to Asao Naohiro, 1994. Shōgun kenryoku no sōshutsu. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten

[608] Matsushima Jin, 2014. 'Toyotomi, sono ushinawareta fūkei wo motonete – rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu to Toyokuni daimyōjin zō wo meguru shiron' In *Shūbi vol. 11 tokushū Toyotomi no fūkei to rakuchū rakugai zu.* Tokyo: Shūbisha, p.24-39

Describing this period as a period of 'cold war' can be considered as being appropriate, since the victory of Ieyasu at the Battle of Sekigahara was not only achieved by Tokugawa's grasp on military power gathered by the Tokugawa clan, but by other powerful daimyo such as Fukushima Masanori 福島正則 (1561-1624), Hosokawa Tadaoki 細川忠興 (1563-1646) and Ikeda Terumasa 池田輝政 (1565-1613), who considered themselves to serve the Toyotomi administration. After the battle Ieyasu entered Fushimi castle, where he was recognised as the head of five *tairō,* which means great elders, to govern Japan under the administration of Toyotomi.

Daidōji[609] writes that after the Great Buddha and the hall at Hōkō-ji burned down, Yodo, the second wife of Hideyoshi and the mother of Hideyori, sent a messenger confidentially to Hidetada's wife[610] in Edo asking for support from the Tokugawa. She did this since it was not possible for Hideyori to re-establish the Great Buddha Hall. Ieyasu, who was at Sunpu, was informed through Honda Masanobu. This upset Ieyasu, because he disliked hearing this kind of request made by a woman, particularly as Hideyori was still young. Ieyasu added that, even when the Daibutsu built by Emperor Shōmu at Nara burned down during the Genpei war, Minamoto no Yoritomo should have rebuilt the temple, but he did not care. The Daibutsu at Kyoto was built by Hideyoshi for his own purposes, therefore Ieyasu decided it was up to Hideyori to rebuild, and was nothing to do with the shogun. Ieyasu also told Honda Masanobu that since there are numerous temples and shrines, Tokugawa did not need to repair or rebuild all of them. He emphasised the need to judge whether a shrine or temple should be rebuilt upon several examinations of the requests by religious institutions. Moreover, his opinion was that building new temples and shrines was pointless, and he wanted this made clear to both the shogun and *rōjū*.[611]

Though other than this Daidōji's description, there is no written record available to directly prove whether Yodo actually sent a messenger to Edo, and we cannot know for certain whether Honda Masanobu told Ieyasu not to support this idea. However, it is a historical fact that Ieyasu was deeply involved in the restoration of Great Buddha at Hōkō-ji. As mentioned, he approved of the Nakai family (who were under Ieyasu's command by that point) being in

[609]Daidōji Yūsan, c. 1720. *Suruga Miyage vol.2.* Tokyo: Kondō Kappansho
[610]This wife was Oeyo, who gave birth to Iemitsu. Oeyo was the daughter of Asaki Nagamasa and her mother was the sister of Oda Nobunaga. Therefore, Yodo and Oeyo were maternal siblings
[611] Daidōji Yūsan, c. 1720. *Suruga Miyage vol.2.* Tokyo: Kondō Kappansho

charge of the construction. From this record, we can understand that in the early-18th century it was known that Ieyasu, even after his retirement from the position as shogun, had a powerful influence over his son Hidetada. Secondly, it was understood that the Daibutsu at Nara and Daibutsu at Kyoto were connected. By this time, the Daibutsu at Nara was restored with the Tokugawa shogunate's support so this description might have been a complete fabrication, also there is no description regarding both the Daibutsu at Kamakura and the Daibutsu at Edo.

As time passed, Ieyasu started to establish an autonomous authority. As he remained in the same political position, Ieyasu was effectively acting as a deputy for the young Hideyori. Tokugawa made an arrangement of marriage between Hideyori and Hidetada's daughter, Senhime 千姫 (1597-1666), in 1603. Ieyasu asked to meet Hideyori in 1605, when Hideyori was appointed as *udaijin*, the junior minister of the state. Although Ieyasu was already appointed as Seii Taishōgun, this only gave him the military right to establish a shogunate and not necessarily to take charge of national administrations. In the 3rd month of 1611, Hidetada visited Nijō castle to see Ieyasu under the excuse of greeting the grandfather of Senhime. From one perspective, this symbolises Ieyasu giving himself a higher position than Hideyori by letting Hideyori visit Ieyasu's own castle in Kyoto. At the same time, it could be understood as a political gesture made by Hideyori to announce his political equality to Ieyasu. These political tensions built up between the two figures of authority. The Great Buddha at Hōkō-ji must be understood as a crucial tool for Hidetada to appear as the true and righteous descendant of and successor to his father Hideyoshi. This could explain why Hidetada received support from different daimyo, including Ieyasu himself, as this suggests the superiority of Hideyori which was clearly understood by the people through this reconstruction project. From Tokugawa's point of view, however, this reconstruction project must have been quite an annoying and disrupting matter. It came at a time when the Tokugawa were considering making Ieyasu's position completely independent from the administrative order created by Hideyoshi. For Ieyasu and his clan, the completion of the Daibutsu needed be seized as an event for their own benefit. He used religion as an excuse to attack the Toyotomi clan, by using a fairly meaningless inscription of a bell at Hōkō-ji.

To understand the motive behind the bell at Hōkō-ji, we need to examine the wordplay which triggered and gave an excuse for the Tokugawa to attack Toyotomi. To start off, the name of Hōkō-ji came from the same temple located at Mt. Tiantai in China. This is where the

headquarters of Tiantai Buddhism were established, and the founder of Tendai sect, Saichō, is also said to have studied at the mountain. *Hōkō* sounds exactly the same as the combination of two kanji characters: *yutaka* ('richness') and *ōyake* (literally meaning 'public'). The first character '*yutaka*,' also pronounced as *hō*, is used as Toyotomi Hideyoshi's first character when writing in Japanese. The second Chinese character is also pronounced as *kō* and commonly used when referring to someone noble or powerful. It is possible that Hideyoshi liked onomatopoeia, and in this case used wordplay to indicate that the temple belonged to him.

The bell at Hōkō-ji was completed in the 8th month of 1614 upon Hideyori's order and it has inscriptions, stating 'kokka ankō' 國家安康 and 'kunshin hōraku' 君臣豐樂. These words mean peace of a nation and prosperity of both the ruler and his people. However, the Tokugawa shogunate blamed Toyotomi clan, because the first word was meant to have a negative meaning towards Ieyasu by separating Ieyasu's name, 'ie' 家 and 'yasu' 康 by using the character of 'an' 安, which could mean 'cheap'. Toyotomi tried to make the excuse that this inscription didn't have such an intention, however Ieyasu did not listen to Toyotomi's excuses. Ieyasu also accused the second word as 'hōraku' which uses the same chinese characters as the name Toyotomi, so that it could be read as 'both ruler and his people are Toyotomi and his people'. Because of this implied insult, an eye opening ceremony was not performed for the new Daibutsu. Shortly after this, Ieyasu and his men attacked Osaka castle where Toyotomi and his men were residing.[612]

In 1615, when the Toyotomi clan was destroyed, Ieyasu asked the permission of Emperor Go-Mizunoo to strip Hideyoshi of the title of Toyokuni Daimyōjin. As a result, Hideyoshi was no longer a Shinto deity, and became a mortal in the 8th month of the same year. He was moved to Hōkō-ji and is currently enshrined there in the Buddhist fashion. Following this, the Tendai sect temple Myōhō-in gained control of Hōkō-ji, and Myōhō-in closely cooperated with the Tokugawa shogunate. The Hōkoku-sha, where Hideyoshi was enshrined as a Shinto god, was left abandoned. Although Hōkō-ji remained, there was no *senzō`e* ritual practiced there after 1615. This new Daibutsu stood until 1662, when it was damaged by an

[612] Important figures from the Tokugawa shogunate involved in this process of criticism, including a monk Tenkai, Sūden and Hayashi Razan

earthquake,[613] and then it was recreated in wood in 1667. The bronze used for this damaged Daibutsu was melted and used for money, or *Kan'ei Tsūhō.*

There are different opinions regarding which materials were used in order to build the Great Buddha in Kyoto. According to Miyamoto, the first type of material suggested was bronze, but this was changed to wood and lacquerware. The sculptors were Sōtei and Sōin, who were also the sculptors of the Daibutsu in Nara. A merchant in Sakai called Imai Sōkyū 今井宗久 (1552-1590) prepared it for lacquering.[614] Murayama agrees with Miyamoto on the materials used to create the Daibutsu and the sculptors who made it. Murayama also states that the wooden figure was finished with plaster and painted afterwards. It was about 18 metres tall, and the Great Buddha Hall itself was 60 metres long.[615] These same dimensions are noted by Kamata.[616] Kawauchi suggests that the Daibutsu was made completely out of plaster, with a coating of lacquer and gilded gold to finish.[617] Gien thinks that the first Daibutsu was made out of plaster, which was lacquered and then plated with gold.[618] These mixtures of agreement and differences of opinion between researchers show that some mystery must have shrouded the latest Daibutsu. Given the accidents and natural disasters that had befallen previous statues and figures, this would not have been surprising.

After the Great Buddha was damaged by the earthquake, it was remade yet again. Miyamoto states that Shimazu Yoshihiro purchased bronze for preparing the casting of the Great Buddha.[619] Hideyori was the one who decided this must be cast in bronze. The base of the Buddha up to the knee was completed, but yet again it burned down.[620] Kawauchi says that it is unknown how the second one was made. He draws upon the diary *Gien Jūgō Nikki* and points out that the description indicates that the second Daibutsu's torso was cast, the head and hands were made out of wood, and the base was made out of bronze.[621]

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[613]Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, 1998.*Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan kōnai hakkutsu chōsa genchi setsumeikai shiryō*, p.4
[614]Miyamoto Kenji, 1996.*Edo no toshikeikaku – kenchikuka shūdan to shūkyō dezain*. p.183-184
[615] Murayama Shiūchi, 2006.*Shinbutsu shūgō no seichi*.Kyoto: Hōzōkan, p.112-113
[616]Kamata Michitaka, 1994. 'Nishino juraku higashi no daibutsu',p.178
[617] Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no Daibutsu zōryū*. Kyoto: Hōzōkan
[618]Hōgetsu Keigo, Yanaga Teizō and Sakai Nobuhiko (2006)*Gien Jugō Nikki*
[619]Miyamoto Kenji, 1996.*Edo no toshikeikaku – kenchikuka shūdan to shūkyō dezain*, p.183-184
[620] Murayama Shiūchi, 2006.*Shinbutsu shūgō no seichi*, p.112-113
[621] Kawauchi Masayoshi, 2008. *Kenrjokushato bukkyō HIdeyoshi no Daibutsu zōryū*, p. 202-205

It is widely assumed that the scale of the Buddha Hall from south to north was 260 metres and 210 metres from east to west. The material which was used in making the roof was of borean inscription of the Toyotomi family's crest.[622] Another article states that the foundation of the structure became larger during Hideyori's time.[623] The corridor of the Great Buddha Hall is depicted as a single corridor in *rakuchū rakugai zu*, but archeological research conducted by Kyōtoshi Maizō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, reveals that this eventually became a double corridor.[624]

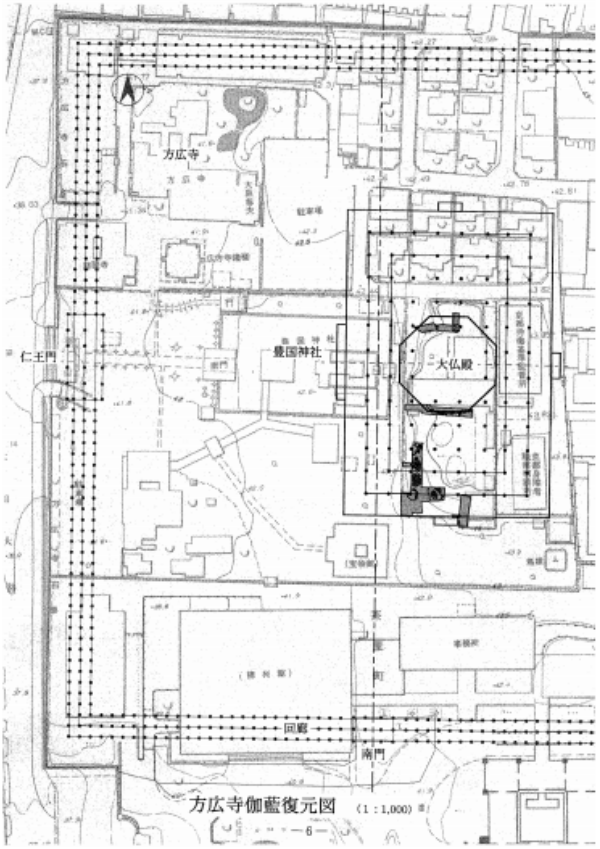

Fig. 87: Archaeological result of the original Hōkō-ji Great Buddha Hall projected on top of the present day Kyoto National Museum site

One of the main figures overseeing the construction works was Nakai Masakiyo, who was the 'master builder' when building the Great Buddha at Hōkō-ji. It is important to note

[622]Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, 1998. *Kyoto kokuritsu hakubutsukan kōnai hakkutsu chōsa genchi setsumeikai shiryō*

[623]Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, 2013. *Hōkō-ji daibutsuden ato hakkutsu chōsa genchi setsumeikai shiryō.*Kyoto: Kōeki Zaidan Hōjin Kyōtoshi Maizō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, p.1

[624]Kyōtoshi maizō bunkazai kenkyūjo, 2009. *Hōkōji ato genchi setsumeikai shiryō*. Kyoto: Kōeki Zaidan Hōjin Kyōtoshi Maizō Bunkazai Kenkyūjo

that the *sakuji bugyō*, the commissioner of buildings, was not someone from the Tokugawa clan but the chief retainer of the Toyotomi clan. This indicates the unusual political situation the Nakai family was placed in at the time of construction, since Nakai Masakiyo and his men were involved in building something monumental which was made to praise the power of the Toyotomi clan. For this reconstruction project, Toyotomi reminted *Senmai Bundō* 千枚分銅 into 960 gold coins.[625] *Senmai Bundō*, as its name suggests, is the equivalent of a thousand large-sized gold coins. It weighs aprroximately 165 kg and was believed to possess near sacred characteristics.[626] A letter[627] sent by Ōkubo Nagayasu 大久保長安 (1545-1613) to Nakai Masakiyo shows that Ieyasu was pleased by the work and advised his son Hidetada to continue using Nakai as a master builder. This letter is dated as the sixth day of the 12th month in 1610. When considering that the actual construction of the Great Buddha Hall at Hōkō-ji started six months prior to this letter, this indicates that Ieyasu and his men start to take an advantage of the actual construction progress for the Daibutsu in Kyoto, in its later stage, therefore again Daibutsu continuously being a subject of political use between Toyotomi and Tokugawa.

Murayama introduces *Taikōki*, a biography of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, which was written in 1626, to suggest how this construction was viewed in the reign of Tokugawa. In *Taikōki*, it is written that "when we considered different dynasties, Qin Shi Huang (the first emperor of the Qin dynasty) disregarded the suffering of millions of people, but did a lot of things for his own pleasure and spent gold and silver for himslef. In this dynasty, it was General Hideyoshi who built the Daibutsu. When building, he said 'There are great benefits for many people, but millions of people disapproved of me,' yet it was still made for their own benefit".[628]This indicates how people who lived in the Tokugawa era, especially amongst the samurai class, either officially or privately were encouraged to perceive the whole process of constructing the Great Buddha and its hall in Kyoto. Although Murayama states that he sees this description of *Taikōki* as a pure reflection of how people of that time understood the event as making great suffering for ordinary people, this has to be understood in the context that *Taikōki* was made during the time of the Tokugawa shogunate.

[625]Murayama Shūchi, 2003. *Kyoto daibutsugoten seisuiki.* p. 116-117
[626] For example, *Senmai Bundō* is placed as an object of worship ona religious float in the *Mikuruyama Matsuri*in Takaoka
[627]Takahashi Masahiko (ed.) 1983.'Ōkubochōan sōjō'
[628]Murayama Shūchi, 2003. *Kyoto daibutsugoten seisuiki*, p.113

I believe that Hideyoshi was aware of the impact that came with building the Daibutsu and its hall in Kyoto. The destruction of the Daibutsu at Nara in 1567 was at a time when Hideyoshi was already serving Nobunaga. When he came into the possession of enormous political and military power, he wanted to build something to not only make an impact on people but more importantly symbolise his authority. Miyamoto introduces the idea first presented by Miki Seiichirō, that there was political appeal to the Toyotomi clan in placing Hōkō-ji as Toyotomi's own temple. By conducting a ritual for the protection of the nation, the whole event put Toyotomi's longevity at the same importance level as the security and prosperity of the people.[629]

This is why Hideyoshi intended to use the Kyoto Great Buddha: for the purpose of remembering the Nara Great Buddha and, more significantly, to announce his political power to the public. As mentioned, Kyoto became the new capital of Japan in 794, but there was no Great Buddha there until 1595, a full 700 years later, when Hideyoshi built the Kyoto Great Buddha in Kyoto's present day Higashiyama area. This delay could be attributed to the fact that the reason for moving capitals was to escape the monks in Nara who had gained a great deal of power. Thus, the first rulers in Kyoto aimed to deflect associations of power away from Buddhist institutions. In other words, when Nara was the capital, the Great Buddha in Nara was understood to be the most important visual symbol of Buddhism in Japan. Hideyoshi's Great Buddha in Kyoto, building on this legacy, was intended to bolster his image as a legitimate ruler and show off his power. Its symbolism as a Buddhist figure was by this point a secondary aim. The presence of the Great Buddha greatly altered the Kyoto landscape and even became part of the subject matter for Kyoto landscape painters.

Hideyoshi wisely used not only warlords, but also religious institutions in Kyoto, imperial court members and ordinary people in Kyoto to achieve this aim. Warlords who could rebel against him were asked to provide building materials as well as sending men to the site. In this way Hideyoshi could exhaust their resources, and place daimyo into a hierarchical order where Hideyoshi sat at the top. Medieval religious institutions, which more or less worked individually, were reformed and forced to work together to pray for the Toyotomi clan. By sending courtiers to rituals and other events which took place at Hōkō-ji, the Imperial Court increased the social acknowledgement of both the Toyotomi clan and its temple. Many high-

[629]Miyamoto Kenji, 2000. *Kenchikuka Hideyoshi – ikōkara suirisuru senjutstu to kenchiku toshi puran,* p.182

ranking monks related to members of the Imperial family were also closely associated with these rituals. Ordinary people showed great interest in this building from the beginning, and they gathered to celebrate the creation and completion of this temple. Since this site does not have a strategic function, this must be understood as monumental architecture used to facilitate a military, religious, imperial and social phenomenon.

4.5 Edo Great Buddha

When Tokugawa Ieyasu opened his shogunate and was planning to create a city at Edo, as explained before, Kan'ei-ji was already planned to be built. One of the main purposes of having Kan'ei-ji in Edo was to replicate a smaller sized Kyoto and there they needed to copy Daibutsu aswell. In 1698 a Tendai monk Kōben 公弁法親王 (1669-1716), who was also the sixth prince of Emperor Gosai, built the Great Buddha Hall at Kan'ei-ji. He was also the head of the temple at that time.[630] In contrast to the previously discussed Great Buddhas, the Edo Great Buddha was donated to the temple compound at Kan'ei-ji in 1631 by Hori Naoyori, as already mentioned in the section on Kiyomizu. It was completed in the intercalary 10th month of 1631.[631] It is thus unusual, because this donated Daibutsu was not commissioned directly by the ruling power. The rulers of the time, and the recipients of this Daibutsu, were the members of the Tokugawa clan, who defeated the former ruling family, the Toyotomi clan in 1614. This is the same Toyotomi family that built the wooden and the bronze Daibutsu in Kyoto in order to legitimise their own rule. Hori Naoyori owned land which was donated firstly to the shogunate and then given to Tenkai in order to build Kan'ei-ji.[632]

The Edo Great Buddha differs from the Nara and Kyoto Great Buddhas as it was a representation of Gautama Siddhārtha, the founder of Buddhism, rather than *Rushanabutsu*. The Daibutsu in the Edo period faced south, a direction of great symbolism and significance as indicated through artworks of the time, [633] which will be discussed further. This statue was

[630] *Taitōku kyōiku iinkai*
[631] Saitō Gesshin (1912) *Bukō Nenpyō*
[632] According to Edo Meishoki (1662) Asai Ryōyi made a section called Shiba no Ōbotoke, and according to the description this was made in 1635 and established by the monk Tanshō. Although this is said to be the Daibutsu, this is actually five Nyorai Buddhist statues, which is also said to be having a connection to the five Buddhist statues locating in Narutaki, Kyoto. In this thesis however these Buddhist statues will not be examined since this is not either built by the Tokugawa shogunate nor locates within Tokugawa's official religious site.
[633] *Taitōku kyōiku iinkai*

said to be built out of clay and stand 20 metres high.[634] Although it was a statue of Gautama Siddhārtha or Shaka Nyorai, a different source states that it was a lot smaller, only 2.8 metres tall and covered by plaster.[635] Makino also writes that this Daibutsu in 1631 had a height of just five metres.[636] Another source states that the new statue was donated not by Hori Naotoki 堀直時 (1616-1643), but by his father Hori Naoyori.[637] According to *Ueno Daibutsu Ryakuki*, the main reason this Daibutsu was created was to pray for the souls of all the samurai who died during the war between Tokugawa and Toyotomi. In this sense, one could say that the Edo Great Buddha is more similar to the Kamakura Great Buddha in terms of its smaller scale and depiction of Gautama Siddhārtha. The donors could not have donated a Buddha exactly the same as the Kyoto Buddha, as the Kyoto Buddha had been created by the shogun's enemies whom he had successfully destroyed.

The Great Buddha in Kan'ei-ji was destroyed in 1647 by an earthquake. As we can see, Daibutsu across the country continued to suffer similar fates. There are not many documents which describe the events after this earthquake. According to *Ueno Daibutsu Ryakushi*, bertween 1655 and 1660 the Great Buddha was replaced with a bronze Great Buddha. Again, different statements have been presented regarding the scale of the second Daibutsu. According to Makino, it was seven metres high, which would make it perhaps larger than the previous statue based on his writings alone.[638] Another source states the same year of completion, only that it was only 3.6 metres high.[639]

According to the pictorial guidebook *Edo Meisho Zue*, the main object of worship was the statue of Shaka Nyorai, which stood at more than 6.6 metres tall.[640] The monk Jōun is said to have built this Great Buddha, and Kōben built the Buddha hall itself. This statement is supported by the *Taitōku Kyōiku Iinkai*. This description was not made by someone who directly knew about the event, and the height given for this Buddha statue is very different from what we now understand to be the case. For these reasons, this information may not be completely reliable as a point of reference.

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[634] Inkai, 1680. *Tōeizan kaisan jigen daishi engi*
[635] *Taitōku kyōiku iinkai*
[636] Makino Osamu and Yamaori Tetsuo, 2011.*Edo Tokyo no jisha nr.609 wo aruku shitamachi tōkōhen*. p.39
[637] *Daibutsu pagoda enkaku.* Tōeizan Kan`ei-ji: Taitōku
[638] Makino Osamu and Yamaori Tetsuo, 2011. *Edo Tokyo no jisha nr.609 wo aruku shitamachi tōkōhen*. p.39
[639] *Taitōku kyōiku iinkai*
[640] Saitō, G. 1834-1836.*Edo Meisho Zue*, 1967. Tokyo: Jinbustu Ōraisha

Research has still left the identity of Jōun unclear. In both *Taitōku Kyōiku Iinkai* and *Edo Meisho Zue* he is described as a Mokujiki monk. Mokujiki is a type of Buddhist monk who only eats fruits and nuts, and this type of monk usually does not belong to a specific temple for a long time. This suggests that the rebuilding of Daibutsu after the earthquake was not led by the shogunate or an official Kan'ei-ji source, but conducted in an unofficial way which required donations from different social classes. This also indicates that the Daibutsu was, by this point, popular enough amongst people in Edo to be able to rely on donations. It took 30 years for the Great Buddha in Nara and its hall to be rebuilt through funding.

In 1841, the Daibutsu at Kan'ei-ji caught fire and burned down. Two years later, the Hori clan restored both the Daibutsu and it hall. The face of the Daibutsu which we can observe today is from the Daibutsu of that time.

When considering the intention to replicate architecture, it is essential to confirm that the people who were involved in the act of copying understood the significance of the act. This was the attitude Tokugawa took when replicating sacred spaces that were originally built by Hideyoshi. At the same time, however, it was the Tokugawa clan themselves who destroyed the Toyotomi clan. Therefore, for both Tokugawa who committed to replicating the Daibutsu in Edo and people who lived under the rule of the new Tokugawa era, it was obviously not ideal to closely associate Toyotomi's legacy to architecture which Toyotomi had created.

It is interesting that, although Oze Hoan, who served Nobunaga as a doctor and later was a doctor for Hideyoshi's brother, Hidetsugu, his criticism was made from the view point of Confucian thinking. When Hoan first criticized both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, he created a Q and A dialogue between an imaginary character and Oze Hoan. There, this imaginary character asked him how both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi spent and distributed money. Hoan answered that Nobunaga distributes money only to wealthy people and Hideyoshi takes money from the poor, and that this approach was completely wrong. Then this imaginary character asked him another question: "How about the Kan'ei time?", and Hoan answers: "It cannot be described in the same tongue and the same way. Because the 'shogunate' spent so much gold and silver on townsmen in Kyoto, Edo, Fushimi, Ōtsu, Osaka and Sakai, those who were struggling could mend a leaked roof or wear warm clothes and roast tea. I only hear voices

enjoying this time and never hear of someone criticising the 'shogunate'".[641] Oze also adds that "during the time of Hideyoshi, there were three magistrates in Kyoto. When somebody violated the law they were sometimes crucified or boiled, however bandits and other criminals were active every night and never stopped. Although these days we do not have many laws to forbid people's activities, *rakuchū rakugai* are filled by people even in the evening. They give way and do not cause disputes, and crimes that involve setting fire or killing people naturally disappeared. It is only regrettable that samurai's temperaments have become that of merchants in worrying about profits."[642] The book praises the time of Tokugawa by disparaging both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi's time. Such a strongly biased view can be understood when considering the time Oze wrote this book. At the time, he was not employed by a daimyo due to his close association with the Toyotomi clan, and his son Oze Soan was about to be hired by Maeda Toshitsune 前田利常 (1594-1658) who served the Tokugawa clan. Even so, these writings were not solely to disparage the time of Hideyoshi, as in the same book Oze also writes that Hideyoshi was strong, a great man whose magnanimity was enough to absorb all the sea's water, and that everything he did was glamorous.

To fully understand why the Daibutsu was chosen as a repeated subject of creation and copying, we must examine the relationship between the Hori clan and Kan'ei-ji. The Hori clan used to serve both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. When Naoyori reached the age of 13 he was employed as Hideyoshi's *koshō,* an attendant, and Naoyori raised his status by serving Hideyoshi. When the Battle of Sekigahara commenced, Naoyori argued with his own clan about which position they should take. He did not want to take Ieyasu's side in order to repay the mercy which he had been shown by Hideyoshi. Ultimately, the Hori clan decided to take Ieyasu's side and, despite the fact he was not happy about it, Naoyori supported Ieyasu during the battle. When the Siege of Osaka began, he joined the siege and made the military operation hugely successful. The Tokugawa clan trusted Naoyori, and after Ieyasu's death both Hidetada and Iemitsu visited Naoyori's mansion in Edo. This is proven by an example in 1629 when Hidetada visited Naoyori's mansion and gave him Hideyori's short sword as well as 300 ryō of gold. In 1630, Iemitsu visited Naoyori's house and gave him a short sword and 200 ryō of gold.[643] A shogun's visit to these houses was considered to be a great honour, but what is

[641] Oze Hoan, 1625. *Taikōki*
[642] Ibid.
[643] *Shintei kansei chōshū shoka fu*. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten

important here is the dates that these visits took place. Considering that it was 1631 when the Daibutsu was completed, it is natural to think that the Tokugawa shogunate not only approved of Hori's construction of the Daibutsu, but also gave political and financial support to his construction project within Kan'ei-ji through the symbolic act of visiting his house.

Hori Naoyori also donated Gion-dō, another replication from Kyoto's Gion-sha, the present-day Yasaka shrine. This strongly suggests that the building of Ueno Daibutsu was not a random decision but a deliberate and carefully planned project.

After considering and analysing these facts, it can be logically assumed that the shogunate had known about the construction works in Kan'ei-ji. This leads to the assumption that they not only supported Naoyori himself but intentionally gave him money, because they knew him to be the primary person responsible for the construction. The reason why the money for the Great Buddha in Edo could not be given by the shogunate directly is because everyone, at that time, already knew that a Daibutsu stood in Kyoto and the scale of the one in Edo was smaller. This meant that the Edo version held a lesser value, and with the immense power the shogunate held it would be unacceptable for them to be officially involved in the construction. It was also important for the Tokugawa's to treat Naoyori with respect, since he contributed so much to the process in giving up his land to build Kan'ei-ji and lending the strategical importance that the Hori clan possessed in their home domain of Nagaoka.

We can also look into the possibility that Hori Naoyori personally wanted to build the Daibutsu by himself. As described, Naoyori had served Hideyoshi since he was very young and Hideyoshi treated him well. When he joined the Siege of Osaka, he stayed in Kyoto for a short period. Although there is no record of it, which is exactly why this is a pure speculation, it would be natural to assume that he visited the Great Buddha Hall at Hōkō-ji just before he joined the war to destroy the Toyotomi clan. Therefore, for Naoyori the construction project could be seen as his personal tribute to Hideyoshi and the people who died for him.

Interestingly, the intention of the construction of this Buddha in Edo is practically indistinguishable from the Kyoto Daibutsu, showing a clear attempt to legitimise Edo as as a new political capital and to portray the shogun as the most powerful political force in Japan. However, there is still the question of why the Great Buddha in Edo was made on a smaller scale and of a less valuable material than other Great Buddhas, if it were to be included in the

shogunal temple complex. There are two practical answers. The shogunate did not have enough space at Kan'ei-ji to house a larger-sized Great Buddha, and the shogunate did not have enough money to fund the building of a bronze Great Buddha.

An interesting point, relating to the Tokugawa desire to disparage the memory of the Toyotomi clan, can be seen through the dates of construction and reconstruction of the Kyoto and Edo Great Buddhas. As previously mentioned, in 1612 a bronze Great Buddha was constructed in Kyoto, but was replaced in 1662 with a wooden version, and in 1631 a plaster Great Buddha was donated to the shogunal temple compound at Edo, together with a Great Buddha Hall.

Fig. 88: *Edo Meisho Zue* (1834-1836) close-up of the Kan'ei-ji Great Buddha Hall

Fig. 89: *Kan'ei-ji Daibutsu* End of Edo-Early Meiji period photograph

If in 1660 the donor had enough resources to commission a bronze Great Buddha in Edo, it is difficult to believe that the reason for replacing the Kyoto Great Buddha in 1662 was simply a matter of shortage in resources, particularly when it was under the supervision of the shogunate. Instead, it can be implied that the Kyoto Great Buddha was rebuilt in the less precious material of wood for the purpose of degrading its value, and of elevating the status of the Edo Great Buddha and the Tokugawa shogunate itself.

There are numerous primary sources regarding the Edo Great Buddha, but few address the religious activities that took place at the site of the Great Buddha. Rather, there is an emphasis on Kan'ei-ji and the Great Buddha as *meisho* or *nadokoro,* a famous place, more akin to a tourist destination for the privileged than a place of worship. This can be seen through images such as *Edo Meisho Zue.* These images were viewed by those travelling to Edo, which included both members of the elite classes and commoners.

The creation of the Edo Daibutsu involved the careful selection of the subject. It was not an identical copy in terms of the material, size or deity, and it was not an officially built or funded structure. However, through looking at Hori Naoyori's involvement in the construction together with the knowledge of his past, this Daibutsu should be understood as a replication of

the Hōkō-ji Daibutsu. This understanding is supported by the Tokugawa shogunate's direct encouragement of this construction. The second shogun Hidetada and his son Iemitsu's visit to Hori's mansion within two years of completion, together with the financial backup given to Hori, gave him permission and assurance necessary to build this 'copied' Great Buddha. The Edo Daibutsu as a 'copy' of Hōkō-ji Daibutsu is further emphasised by its location. Kan'ei-ji was a newly created temple compound which placed itself as an equivalent to Mt. Hiei, as explained in the section on Kiyomizu. Establishing the Great Buddha within Kan'ei-ji indicates that this was a 'copy' of the Hōkō-ji Great Buddha. Hori Naoyori's building of Gion-sha from Kyoto backs up this theory, and building Kiyomizu-dō and Kan'ei-ji confirms the shogunate's creation of a miniature Kyoto in their temple compound. All of this supports the theory of the Edo Daibutsu acting as the 'copied' Hōkō-ji Buddha.

4.6 Representation in visual materials

4.6.1 Hōkō-ji

The earliest examples of Great Buddha and its hall at Hōkō-ji, and its appearance in paintings, can be seen in 1606. The image which is introduced in Figure 92 and 93 is called *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu*, and is a set of screen paintings much like *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens. It is a set of six panels, with folding screens depicting a specific religious event that the Toyotomi clan conducted for the deified Hideyoshi. There are now three surviving examples of the style known as *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu*, and each reflects how people of the time viewed the Toyotomi clan using Hōkō-ji and the religious events held there. The earliest image that depicts Hōkō-ji is the *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* possessed by Toyokuni shrine.

As stated before, Hideyoshi's funeral did not officially take place. Hideyoshi became a god called Hōkoku Daimyōjin or Toyokuni Daimyōjin in 1599. There is no official record indicating the celebration of the spirit of Hideyoshi with regard to his death. As also mentioned, after Hideyoshi's death and after the Battle of Sekigahara there was a political tension created by both Toyotomi and Tokugawa. In Kyoto, the situation was escalated by Ieyasu deciding to build Nijō castle in the heart of Kyoto. By this time, it was almost completed, except for the

castle tower which was finished in 1603. In addition, Ieyasu was appointed as the Seii Taishōgun and entered Nijō castle on the twelfth day of the 3rd lunar month of 1603.[644]

This increase in Tokugawa Ieyasu's political presence must have contributed to Toyotomi's sense of concern. This is most likely why Toyotomi felt the urgency to conduct a special event demonstrating the righteousness of Toyotomi's political legitimacy and his power to govern. To fulfil this purpose, a special religious festival was deemed appropriate to glorify the legacy of Hideyoshi, and demonstrate Toyotomi's legitimate rulership as the administrative governor of Japan.

A monk, Bonshun, recorded the development of this ritual process in his diary. In 1604, Bonshun visited Fushimi castle where Ieyasu was residing. They discussed performing the ritual of this special festival at Toyokuni shrine.[645] As already stated, Bonshun was a monk who was trusted by Hideyoshi and became a representative of the Toyokuni shrine together with his brother Yoshida Kanemi. Bonshun continued to visit Fushimi castle in the following few months while Ieyasu himself approved how this festival took shape. His suggestions included 200 horses leading the festival, performances of *dengaku* music and Noh theatre, and the attendance of a thousand people from both the upper and lower half of Kyoto.[646] Katagiri Katsumoto and Yamauchi Kazutoyo attended in order to represent the Toyotomi clan, along with Bonshun. This festival took place on the fourteenth and fifteenth day of the lunar month, having postponed it from the original suggestion of the thirteenth day. An interesting point to note here is that Bonshun's diary does not mention his visit to Hideyori. It may be that this job was taken by Katagiri Tangen. It is crucial to understand that Bonshun needed Ieyasu's approval when conducting this ritual, as it indicates how powerful Ieyasu already was by that time. Furthermore, although Ieyasu himself approved this festival, he did not come to view the event. The role he would have played in attending was done by Hideyori.

The reason why Ieyasu and Hideyori did not attend the festival is worth examining. If the main purpose of the festival was to lift up or strengthen the political presence of Toyotomi, there was no reason for Hideyori to be absent. However, Hideyori was very young, barely 11 years old, at the time of the festival. When Hideyori appeared at the festival, it would have

[644] *Tokugawa Jikki*
[645] Shinryūin Bonshun (1583-1632) *Shunkyūki*, 2nd day 5th month 1604
[646] Ibid., 12th day 6th month 1604

been logical and expected for Ieyasu to attend in order to show his respect. However, this would have been a risky act from Hideyori's perspective, as Toyotomi could not foresee how Ieyasu was likely to act towards Hideyori. It is therefore possible to speculate that it was mutually agreed by both Tokugawa and Toyotomi that Hideyori and Ieyasu would not both be allowed to attend this festival.

The 200 horse procession that led the festival was supplied by Hideyoshi's former attendants such as Maeda Toshinaga, Fukushima Masanori, Katō Kiyomasa and Hosokawa Tadaoki. They were ordered to supply the horses by Ieyasu, and the expenses were paid by the attendants themselves. Daimyo who were closely associated with the Tokugawa shogunate did not attend this horse procession.[647]

Fig. 90: Kanō Naizen, *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu, Toyokuni shrine version* (1606) right screen

[647]Kuroda Hideo, 2013. *Hōkoku saireizu wo yomo*. Tokyo: Kadokawa shuppan, chapter IV

Fig. 91: Kanō Naizen, *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu, Toyokuni shrine version* (1606) left screen

In the Toyokuni shrine version of *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu,* both Hōkoku-sha where Hideyoshi was enshrined as the deity Toyokuni Daimyōjin are depicted. On the right screen, horses can be seen approaching, and on the left screen Hōkō-ji and its Great Buddha Hall are portrayed together, with people dancing in front of the Hōkō-ji. The screen also depicts Kiyomizu-dera site on the 5th panel. These screens contrast with each other by portraying a noble, seemly and ordered scene on the right screen and a lively, vigorous and boisterous scene on the left screen. On the right screen, the hierarchical order of the ritual is emphasised by portraying daimyo riding horses, withother samurai attendants appearing on the lower part of the painting. The nobles are portrayed above, within the first part of the Hōkoku shrine section, where they watch the *bugaku* performance. Higher ranking people are shown in the upper section, and the very top of the main building of Hōkoku-sha is depicted on a large scale. In contrast to this, the more secular side of celebrating this ritual is portrayed on the left screen. Kyoto townsmen celebrate this event by circle dancing in a group, and both noble and lay people are entertained by watching this dance. There are people visiting a near off-site of Hōkō-ji where they relax, and both Kiyomizu-dera and the Hōkō-ji Great Buddha Hall have been placed amongst these crowds. This indicates that, while Hōkoku-sha was considered as the vessel for the sacred spirit of deified Hideyoshi, Hōkō-ji was understood to be a place where people had fun and enjoyed their surroundings.

According to Tanaka Toyozō, this Toyokuni shrine version in Figure 94 of *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* was painted by Kanō Naizen, a Kanō school painter, and was commisioned by Hideyori and his mother Yodo, and then donated to the Hōkoku shrine on the thirteenth day of

the 8th month in 1606. This date is when *hōkoku sairei* took place two years previously.[648] This is confirmed by the diary of Bonshun, which states that Katagiri Katsumoto donated this set of folding screens from Osaka, and that this is a screen painting depicting the special festival of the previous years.[649]

Fig. 92: Kanō Naizen, *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu, Toyokuni shrine version* (1606) close-up of Hōkō-ji

The most fascinating aspect of this painting, however, is not the people who are dancing or the Hōkoku-sha with all former Hideyoshi's dignitaries, but the Great Buddha Hall on the left screen, which is surrounded by the golden cloud. As previously mentioned, this painting was created to depict scenes from the 8th month of 1604, although by the time this special festival took place in the Great Buddha Hall and the Great Buddha at Hōkō-ji did not yet exist. The Hōkō-ji Great Buddha and its hall were burned down in the 12th lunar month of 1602 while the Great Buddha was being cast. Both were left abandoned until Hideyori attempted to

[648] Tanaka Toyozō, 1919. Hōkoku sai no byōbu ni tsuite In *Kokka nr.352*. Tokyo: Kokkasha
[649] Shinryūin Bonshun (1583-1632) *Shunkyūki,* 18th day 8th month 1606

recomplete the Great Buddha Hall in 1610. This means that the Great Buddha Hall that is depicted in this screen did not exist at the time the screen intends to portray. When we understand this and look back at the same image, it goes some way to explain why the Great Buddha Hall is surrounded by golden clouds, as the painter was unable to portray the relationship between the people at the festival and the Great Buddha Hall. Whenever the Great Buddha Hall is depicted in relation to ordinary people, it indicates the balance between this world and entities from another world. The golden clown that divides the main hall and the people who celebrate this event symbolically represents the relationship between Hideyoshi and his people. Here, Hōkō-ji represents the glorious political success that Hideyoshi brought to the people so they praised the symbolised Hideyoshi and its glorious, imaginary Daibutsu and its hall, which is hidden behind the golden cloud. The painting recreates the glory of Hideyoshi with Hōkō-ji as the new symbol. It is striking to see the Great Buddha Hall in this screen, because this is the only surviving image in which we can see what Hōkō-ji's Great Buddha Hall looked like before it burned down. Considering that this painting was donated in 1606, at a time when there was no plan by the Toyotomi's to build the Great Buddha Hall at the now burned-down site, there is no way Kanō Naizen could have known about the forthcoming reconstruction of the Great Buddha Hall in 1610. According to Kuroda, this screen is widely considered to have been commissioned by the Toyotomi clan, not just for the purpose of celebrating this event but as a way for Hideyori's mother Yodo to express anger towards Nene, also known as Kōdai-in. Nene was the wife of Hideyoshi, and the person who tried to reconcile Hideyori and Ieyasu by being Ieyasu's mediator.[650]

This thesis will not go into detail about whether Kuroda's hypothesis is convincing or not. The most important thing is that this painting represents the Toyotomi clan's strong desire to take the capital under their control. In order to achieve this aim, portraying the vanished Great Buddha and its hall together with Hōkoku-sha and the people was absolutely essential. The creation of this painting ultimately formalised the ideal image of Kyoto that the Toyotomi clan held.

The artwork in Figure 93 and 94 which depicts the early stages of Hōkō-ji is a copy of the folding screen entitled *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* which is also known as the Myōhō-in version.

[650]Kuroda Hideo, 2013. *Hōkoku saireizu wo yomo*. Tokyo: Kadokawa shuppan

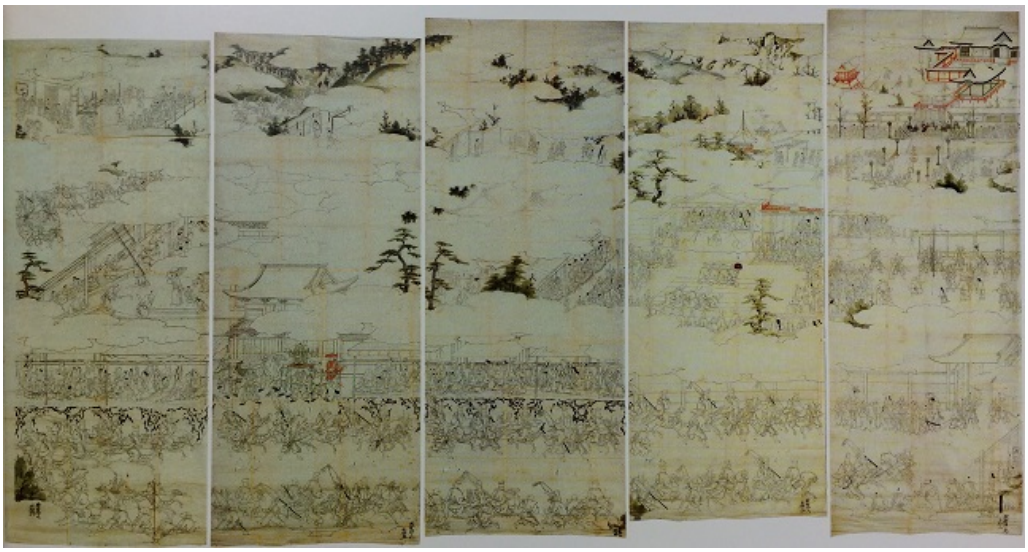

Fig. 93: *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* Myōhō-in version, a copy of 6 panel folding screens (1612) right screen

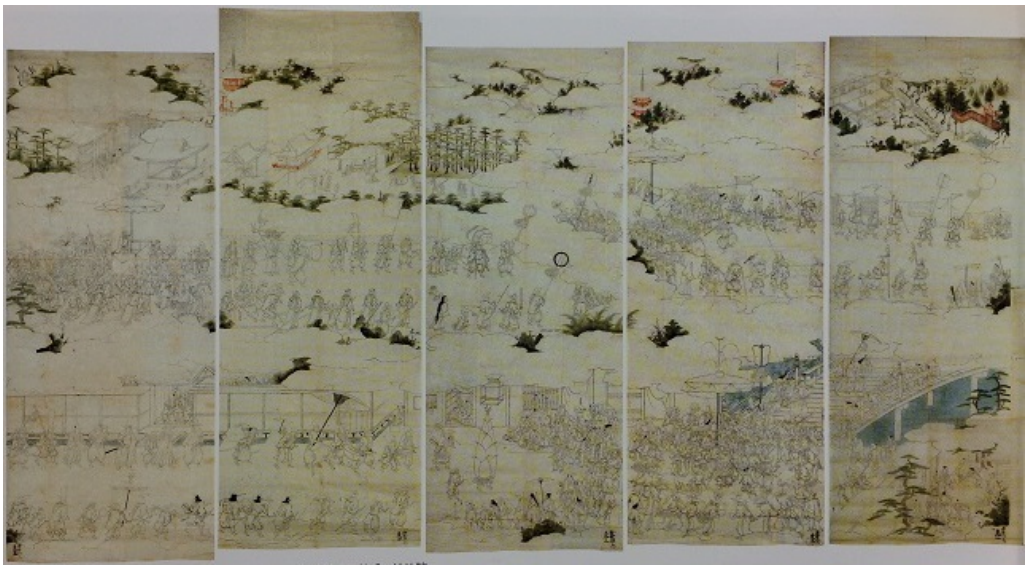

Fig. 94: *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* Myōhō-in version, a copy of 6 panel folding screens (1612) left screen

Miyajima Shinichi[651] states that the original screen, which was possessed by the Yoshida family, was copied in 1783 and is now owned by Myōhō-in, Kyoto. It copies each panel by one paper scroll, and out of 12 panels in the set of screens only 10 panels have still survived. The copying is precise and seems to have been deliberately as accurate as possible.[652]

[651]Miyajima Shinichi, 1975. *Hōkoku rinji saireizu ni tsuite – myōhō-in shahon wo chūshin ni geinōshi kenkyū vol.49*. Kyoto: geinōshi kenkyū kai

[652] Ibid.

Through the painting style, Miyajima puts forward the strong possibility of Kanō Takanobu as being the painter. Kanō Takanobu, according to Miyajima, disliked the hysteria demonstrated by crowds of ordinary people, which is why the painting does not depict the festival at its climax. Miyajima's theory is questioned by Takeda Tsuneo, who considers this work to be by a skilled Kanō school painter and made at the end of the Keichō period.[653]

According to Kuroda,[654] the original *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu,* which is now possessed by Myōhō-in, was commissioned by both Bonshun and Nene on a special festival which took place in 1610. It also signifies the meeting of Hideyori and Ieyasu at Nijō castle in 1611. Kuroda continues that the figure of Nene is depicted in a total of 4 locations and in a flattering way. This was not the case in the previous *Hōkoku Saireizu* screen. The Yoshida family is also depicted, indicating the close relationship that they had with Hōkoku-sha.[655]

An important point of note with the Myōhō-in version is that the composition of the subject matter is quite different from the Toyokuni shrine and the Tokugawa Art museum versions which will be mentioned next. On the right screen, both the Toyokuni shrine and Hōkō-ji are depicted, and the other screen indicates the Higashiyama area including both Kiyomizu-dera and Gion shrine. When we look at Hōkō-ji in this image, we can see that there are craftsmen at the Hōkō-ji site. The cloud covers the whole area where the Great Buddha Hall stands, if indeed it stands, indicating that the Great Buddha hall was about to start its reconstruction project. Unlike in the Toyokuni version, this does not represent the non existent Great Buddha Hall and its Buddha.

[653]Takeda Tsuneo, 1978. 'Hōkoku saireizu no tokushitsu to tenkai' In *Nihon byōbue shūsei vol.13 fūzokuga-sairei kabuki*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, p.120-126
[654]Kuroda Hideo, 2013. *Hōkoku saireizu wo yomo*. Tokyo: Kadokawa shuppan, chapter VII
[655]Kuroda Hideo, 2013. *Hōkoku saireizu wo yomo*. Tokyo: Kadokawa shuppan, chapter VII

Fig. 95: *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* Myōhō-in version, the copy of 6 panel folding screens (1612) close-up of the absent Great Buddha and its hall

This is perhaps due to the clear understanding of the absence of a Great Buddha Hall amongst most of the people who would have viewed this image. Therefore, from the artist's perspective there was no point in depicting a non-existent building. The political presence of Ieyasu continued to grow, and therefore the scale of the festival had to be reduced. This change may well have affected the way this *Hōkoku Saireizu* screen indicates their place. If these original screens were possessed by the Yoshida family, who were in charge of Toyokuni shrine at that time, it would be unusual for Myōhō-in to own a copy, as Myōhō-in was a temple that had historical links with the Tokugawa. This is especially true considering that the Tokugawa took over the control of Hōkō-ji after the Toyotomi were destroyed. This work, with a noticeably absent Daibutsu and hall, is yet another surviving example that describes Hōkō-ji around 1612 when there is no Great Buddha Hall in this location.

The Great Buddha Hall and the Great Buddha were revived in the *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* which is now in the possession of the Tokugawa Art Museum.

Fig. 96: Iwasa Matabei, *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* Tokugawa Art Museum version (early-17th century) right screen

Fig. 97: Iwasa Matabei, *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* Tokugawa Art Museum (early-17th century) left screen

This set of screens is known as the Tokugawa version of *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu*. As the Tokugawa version depicts Kyoto after 1614, after the completion of the Great Buddha Hall, this is the most recent example shown within the three *Hōkoku Saireizu byōbu* introduced in this thesis. Miyajima Shinichi points out that these screens were once possessed by Kōmyō-in at Mt. Kōya, which had an association with the Matsudaira clan. It then came into the possession of the Mōri clan, before being donated to Kōmyō-in.[656] However Kuroda Hideo believes that it was commissioned by Hachisuka Iemasa, who served Hideyoshi, in 1614 and

[656]Miyajima Shinichi, 1989. 'Shinshite jūshinshitei jūyō bunkazai osaka natsunojin zu byōbu ni tsui' In *MUSEUM vol.464*. Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum

was donated to Kōmyō-in at Mt. Kōya upon Iemasa's death.[657] Many art historians agree with Tsuji Nobuo's[658] speculation that the painter was Iwasa Matabei. According to Tsuji, this artwork was modelled on the Toyokuni version of the screens but the subject matter depicted is completely the opposite. Chaos can be seen everywhere. The evident purpose of making this painting was not to portray the dignity of the Toyotomi clan, but the hysterical state of people at the festival. Given the implications of such a painting, it cannot have been made at a time when Toyotomi had any remaining dignity or influence. This painting therefore has to be understood as more of a display of Tokugawa clans legacy in which they braught peace and prosperity after the Toyotomi clan.[659] Tsuji believes the Funaki version of *rakuchū rakugai zu* was also made by Iwasa Matabei's studio, which is an assertion which will be discussed later in this chapter.

When we look at Hōkō-ji, we can see that the Great Buddha Hall is portrayed at the centre of the left screen, which clearly indicates that this is the main focus in this screen. Unlike the Toyokuni version *Hōkoku Saireizu* screen, it does not depict Kiyomizu-dera. The Great Buddha Hall is partially covered by a golden cloud, which is interestingly shaped and seems to a have similarity with the Funaki version of the *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens. The Great Buddha is also portrayed partially in gold inside the Great Buddha Hall, and from the angle depicted the viewer can only see the base of the statue. The ornamentation of the roof is noticeably similar to the Funaki version of *rakuchū rakugai zu*, which further suggests that these two works were made by the same studio, if not by the same painter. According to Kimura Nobuko,[660] through analysing the depiction of the religious buildings at Toyokuni shrine we can deduce that this is highly likely to be a work which was made after 1613. The above points suggest that this depicted Daibutsu is most likely not the imaginary Great Buddha and its hall but the newly completed Great Buddha Hall. There are no builders depicted in the painting, which indicates and also supports the idea that the building was not under construction when the painting was made.

The curious thing about this painting is that most of the people depicted around Hōkō-ji are not looking at the newly built Great Buddha and its hall. Some of them are fighting and

[657] Kuroda Hideo, 2013. *Hōkoku saireizu wo yomo*. Tokyo: Kadokawa shuppan, chapter VIII
[658] Tsuji Nobuo, 2008. *Iwasa Matabei ukiyoe wo tsukutta otoko no nazo*. Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū
[659] Ibid., p.231-234
[660] Kimura Nobuko, 2003. Tsukubusuma jinja hondem no waki hame chōkoku ni tsuite – tsukubusuma jinja kenkyū josetsu In Bijutsushi ronshu vol.3. Kōbe: Kōbe University, p.26-47

some others enjoying themselves at the festival. There seems to be no portrayal of the inauspicious bell on the screen. If one speculates this to be made after 1614, this suggests that the depiction of the bell was consciously omitted. However, if considering the hypothesis of this screen being made before the completion of the bell and Hōkō-ji, it is still possible to state that this is a painting to celebrate Toyotomi's authority, despite the fact that the people are depicted in a rather chaotic way. If this painting was made at the short span of time around 1613, when the Great Buddha and its hall were just completed but the bell was not yet cast, by considering Hachisuka Iemasa or the Mōri clan as potential patrons of this painting the main purpose of portraying this image becomes celebrating the completion of the Hōkō-ji building and praising Toyotomi's authority. The disorderly way of portraying people who are fighting is understood by some as "nostalgia to the time of turmoil that the authorities desperately try to keep away."[661] However, at the same time the fighting scene also suggests the peaceful period of Kyoto, one which exists upon a highly tense political balance between the Imperial Court, Toyotomi clan and the Tokugawa shogunate. Thus it is also possible to understand this as an image that portrays the instability of the capital, where men are no longer able to fight in a military form but *kabukimono* outlaws.

As already explained, the Shōkō-ji screen is the earliest surviving example of a second type *rakuchū rakugai zu*. The Great Buddha Hall and Great Buddha at Hōkō-ji are represented in detail on this screen. Hōkō-ji is depicted on the second panel of the right screen, and the Nijō castle is depicted on the other screen in the centre. According to Matsushima Jin, these second type screens typically place Nijō castle and the Tokugawa shogunate at the centre of the screen, with the Imperial Palace and the emperor at the centre of the other screen. This represents *ōhō,* the king's rule, which is shown using the crest of hollyhock and the crest of chrysanthemum. This can also be seen at the five-storey pagoda at Tō-ji and the Great Buddha Hall at Hōkō-ji, as these symbolise the national protection granted by the Buddha. These screens were made near to the shogunal centre.[662] Matsushima's understanding of the situation is quite convincing given the history of Japan's political ideology. As a further analysis of the Shōkō-ji version screen, it can cast light on the understanding of these second type screens from a different angle. Since this set of screens is the earliest surviving example, Hōkō-ji and

[661] Hiromi Nobuhiko, 2010. Ranse no tsuikai – hōkoku saireizu tokugawa bijutsukan no shudai kaishaku In *Bijutsushi vol.59 nr.168*. Tokyo: Bijutsushi gakkai, p.304

[662] Matsushima Jin, 2008. *Shutō wo egaku. A symposium of the 61st Zenkoku bijutsushi gakkai*. Tokyo: Tokyo University

Nijō castle are depicted it seems to still possess the great political presence that the Toyotomi clan held. Hōkō-ji is depicted towards the upper right hand section of the right screen, right under the Toyokuni shrine. And the scale of these sacred sites compared to that of Nijō castle is still relatively large. The positioning of Hōkō-ji also shows the importance of the two sites as compared to Nijō castle since sacred sites tend to be depicted on the upper side of an image while the secular sceneries are depicted in the lower part following the tradition of *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens.

Fig. 98: Kanō Takanobu*, Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Shōkō-ji* screens (between 1612 and 1618) close-up of the Great Buddha hall and Toyokuni shrine

Figure 98 gives the impression of many people visiting both religious sites, and in the Great Buddha Hall we can see the lower part of the Great Buddha. In the middle part of the right screen the Imperial Palace is depicted. When looking at the left screen, what we see is a gigantic representation of Nijō castle which is fronted by the procession of the Gion festival instead. There, Tō-ji is depicted at the left hand side of the Edo castle on a noticeably smaller scale to Hōkō-ji. This seems to symbolise people's view of history, through depicting buildings created by authorities of different times. Hōkō-ji represents the legacy of the Toyotomi clan, which was immensely powerful but by the time the screens were created had become a thing of the past. The Imperial Palace, which is placed in the middle of Kyoto, no longer holds

political supremacy as it did before. These two are contrasted against Nijō castle, with which the representation depicts the peak of the Tokugawa's new rule of Kyoto by placing the famous Gion festival directly underneath it.

Since Hōkō-ji is a sacred site where people pray for national protection, it is depicted not on the lower half but on the upper half of the painting. In addition, the favourable location of both the Imperial Palace and Nijō castle indicate that these two authorities were still present and active. The depiction of the Kamo River on the right screen also suggests the division of the worlds of the sacred and secular, as well as the past and the present. This composition gives us a key insight into the Imperial Court's political stance as well as the political significance. As Matsushima mentions, the Court is placed visually against the Nijō castle. This does not completely symbolise an oppositional relationship, but rather depicts the Court as a uniquely powerful location considering the history between the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa. With this understanding, instead of seeing the two family crests of hollyhock and the crest of chrysanthemum we can also see the crest of paulownia which is represented as Hōkō-ji and its Great Buddha on the right screen.

Estimating when this painting was made requires careful consideration, as this is known as the earliest example of the second type of *rakuchū rakugai zu*. If this set of screen paintings is the oldest surviving example of the second type of *rakuchū rakugai zu*, then it must be followed and used as a point of reference for other second type screens, which became one of the paintings that were modelled by later painters. Attempting to specify the exact year is more difficult, as the painting does not depict an accurate representation of the scene to the viewer in terms of proportions. It begins the trend for the artworks to project an ideal image, especially in paintings which have politics as their central theme. In other words, specifying the time that both painter and the commissioner wanted to create, rather than the time of creation, is the important consideration here. There is no record indicating the original creator of these screens, and as such one cannot be definite about the year of creation. There are no signs or stamps put in the screens, which was normal practise for the time. The only way to speculate on the time of creation and the time depicted is to analyse the subject matter depicted in the screens.

Construction of Nijō castle began in the 5th month of 1601. Itakura Katsushige, who was the head of Kyoto *Shoshidai*, became the leader of this construction project, and Nakai

Masakiyo was responsible for the carpenters. In 1603 the castle was completed, but its castle tower was not finished until 1606.[663] Secondly, Fushimi castle, which is depicted in the top right corner of the right screen, then needs to be examined. Fushimi castle was built by Hideyoshi. Construction started in 1592 and the castle was completed in 1597. By this time the Fushimi castle functioned as the headquarters of the Toyotomi clan. After Hideyoshi's death in 1598, Hideyori moved from Fushimi castle to Osaka castle. Tokugawa Ieyasu carried out the policies of the Toyotomi clan in this castle afterwards as one of the five great elders. Fushimi Castle burned down in the Battle of Sekigahara, and was reconstructed in 1602, with the original materials used for different buildings in 1619.[664]

From the depictions of these two castles, we can narrow down the creation of the painting to between 1606 and 1619. In addition to these sources, a closer look at Daibutsu and Toyokuni shrine can further narrow down the years represented in the painting. As previously explained, the Great Buddha which Hideyoshi commissioned was severely damaged in 1596. The second Daibutsu, which was halfway through the rebuilding ordered by Hideyori, was also damaged in 1602 and at that time the Great Buddha hall also burned down. Since Nijō castle's tower is completed in the painting, the scene most likely depicts a time after 1606. Therefore, the Great Buddha which is depicted partially inside the Great Buddha hall suggests it is the version created in 1610 and finished in 1612. The *karahafū* style gable, which appears on the roof at the Great Buddha hall, also indicates that this is not the original Great Buddha hall but the second one.

The Toyokuni shrine, which was completed in 1599, is shown with people visiting the shrine. This depiction, together with the undepicted Imahie Jingo mentioned in Chapter 2, suggests that people could still freely visit religious buildings which the Toyotomi clan created. These suggest that the scenes described here are not from any earlier than 1612.

Following Takeda's speculation that the painter was a Kanō school painter, the person who could paint this meticulously elaborate work could potentially be only Kanō Takanobu, the second son of Kanō Eitoku. Kanō Eitoku died in 1590 and Kanō Mitsunobu, the eldest son, died in 1608. Mitsunobu's son Sadanobu was only at the age of 15 by 1612, and Kanō Tan'yū,

[663]William H.Coaldrake, 2002. *Architecture and Authority in Japan*. p.138-162
[664] Kyōtoshi bunka shiminkyoku bunkabu bunkazai hogoka, 2006. *Kyō no shiro – rakuchū rakugai no jōkaku.* Kyoto: Kyōtoshi Bunka Shiminkyoku Bunkabu Bunkazai Hogoka, p.18-23

the son of Takanobu, was only 10 years old. Kanō Takanobu, however, was 42 years old by this time. He was closely associated with both the Imperial Court and the Tokugawa shogunate.

The screens do not have the typical appearance of paintings by Kanō Sanraku or his son Sansetsu, which can be seem from the way that nature is depicted. Kanō Naizen, who painted the *Hōkoku Saireizu* screen, could also be the painter. However, his closeness to the Toyotomi clan does not fit with the theme of the prosperity of the Tokugawa shogunate. Therefore, if these screens were painted by Kanō Takanobu, they must have been painted before his death in 1618. This theory also matches with the fact that Fushimi castle was not torn apart until 1619.

For all of these reasons, we can reasonably place the work as having been created between 1612 and 1618. These years are exactly when a radical transition of power was made, which matches the tension represented in this painting.

When defining Shōkō-ji screen as a heavily political painting, the Funaki version of *rakuchū rakugai zu* either seems to place Kyoto in a different political context focusing on the cerebral site of Kyoto or at least as an attempt to ease the political tension in paintings through depicting a more peaceful Kyoto. According to art historians such as Tsuji Nobuo and Okudaira Shunroku,[665] this overlaps with the time in Kyoto that the Shōkō-ji screen was presumed to depict. What is distinctly different in the Shōkō-ji screen is how the city and the Great Buddha Hall are portrayed. The Great Buddha Hall is depicted on the first and second panel of the right screen, on an unusually large scale.

[665] Okudaira Shunroku, 2001. *Rakuchū rakugai zu funaki bon – machi no nigiwai ga kikoeru*. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, p.116-125

Fig. 99: Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650) *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Funaki screens* (1614-1616) close-up of Hōkō-ji

In an ordinary second-type *rakuchū rakugai zu* screen, such as the one at Shōkō-ji, Hōkō-ji is typically depicted at a relatively moderate size on the upper half of the right hand screen. However, this screen depicted Hōkō-ji not only on a large scale, but also in the lower middle section part of the panel. Above Hōkō-ji, we see Toyokuni shrine celebrating the cherry blossoms. This composition leads the viewer's eye to both the crowded Higashiyama district on the upper half of the middle panels and to the Gojō Bridge on the fourth and fifth panel of the right screen. This further has the effect of continuing the line of sight into the left screen. In the left screen, the Gion festival procession is depicted with intricate brushwork, and other important buildings such as Tō-ji temple, the Imperial Palace and Nijō castle can be seen. Here, Nijō castle is not depicted as a central subject matter as it is in the Shōkō-ji screen painting. Interestingly, the depiction of the tower of Nijō castle is quite understated. Unlike the Shōkō-ji screen, the Gion festival is not positioned in front of the castle. This placement suggests that the painting was not made to indicate the political supremacy that the Tokugawa shogunate possessed. The Imperial Court which was depicted on the right hand screen in the Shōkō-ji screen is now placed above Nijō castle. This further confirms that the intention of the painting was not to praise the power possessed by the Tokugawa shogunate. From a political perspective, this set of screens indicates that Kyoto was in a uniquely harmonious state because of the depiction of the Imperial Court, so both the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa seem to be placed in a politcally equal manner in the artwork. When closely looking at Hōkō-ji and its

Great Buddha hall, we can see the foundation of the Great Buddha inside the hall and many people being amazed by the size of this site.

Fig. 100: Iwasa Matabei (1578-1650) *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Funaki screens* (1614-1616) close-up of people

The architectural features, such as the *karahafū* roof and the description of the bell, indicate that this is clearly the rebuilt Hōkō-ji Great Buddha Hall. Comparing it to the pictorial representation made in Shōkō-ji of the same place, it is depicted as more of a tourist location than a sacred site.

As mentioned, this work is likely to be associated with the painter Iwasa Matabei. From its energetic and cheerful expression of so many people at the Hōkō-ji and other visual clues, it is possible that the main aim of the painting was simply to celebrate great buildings. This work is not only one of the earliest examples that depict the Great Buddha Hall, but also an early screen demonstrating the idea of *meisho*.

The last image this thesis will introduce is *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku* Version D. (Fig.101)

Fig. 101: *Rakuchū Rakugai Zu Rekihaku Version D* (c. 1620's) close-up of Hōkō-ji

When the Toyotomi clan was destroyed, the Tokugawa shogunate claimed complete military hegemony. After 1615 *rakuchū rakugai zu* changed its way to portray the political presence in a painting. *Rakuchū rakugai zu* start celebrating the prosperity and peace that Tokugawa brought to Kyoto in a cerebral manner through depicting locations of *meisho.* The *Rekihaku* Version D of *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens indicate that this was also the case when portraying Hōkō-ji. Hōkō-ji was depicted on the first and second panel of the right screen, where we can also see the famous Sanjūsangen-dō, the bell at Hōkō-ji and Mimizuka, which is said to have been built by Hideyoshi. The Great Buddha Hall is depicted with the Great Buddha, and the lower half of the Great Buddha can be observed. Several people visiting the site are looking up to the Great Buddha. The foundations, gate and the roofs of Hōkō-ji are based on the pictorial representations made in former images such as Shōkō-ji version of *rakuchū rakugai zu*. However, the expression of both buildings and human beings is not as lively or elegant as it was in the Shōkō-ji version. There is also a scene of *kabukimono* fighting in front of Hōkō-ji, but its relationship to the other fighting scenes in the previous images is not clear. When looking at the other screen, the Nijō castle is depicted in the central panels with the Gion festival procession march in front of the main castle gate. By comparing what is depicted at Hōkō-ji and Nijō castle, it is clear that the time of Toyotomi is over and it is now the time of Tokugawa. There are some people celebrating the time of Toyotomi in front of the Toyokuni shrine, but they are depicted on a very small scale. This might even suggest that Hōkō-ji's status has been degraded to that of a mere *meisho* and the merciful Tokugawa clan

allow a small number of less important people to be present in order to show their respect to the previous ruler.

4.6.2 Kan'ei-ji

The Great Buddha donated by Hori Naoyori, which was completed near the end of 1631, is painted on the 4th panel of the right screen in *Edozu byōbu*. This is the only clear surviving example that portrays the Great Buddha in the first half of the 17th century, and therefore this image is extremely valuable for research purposes.

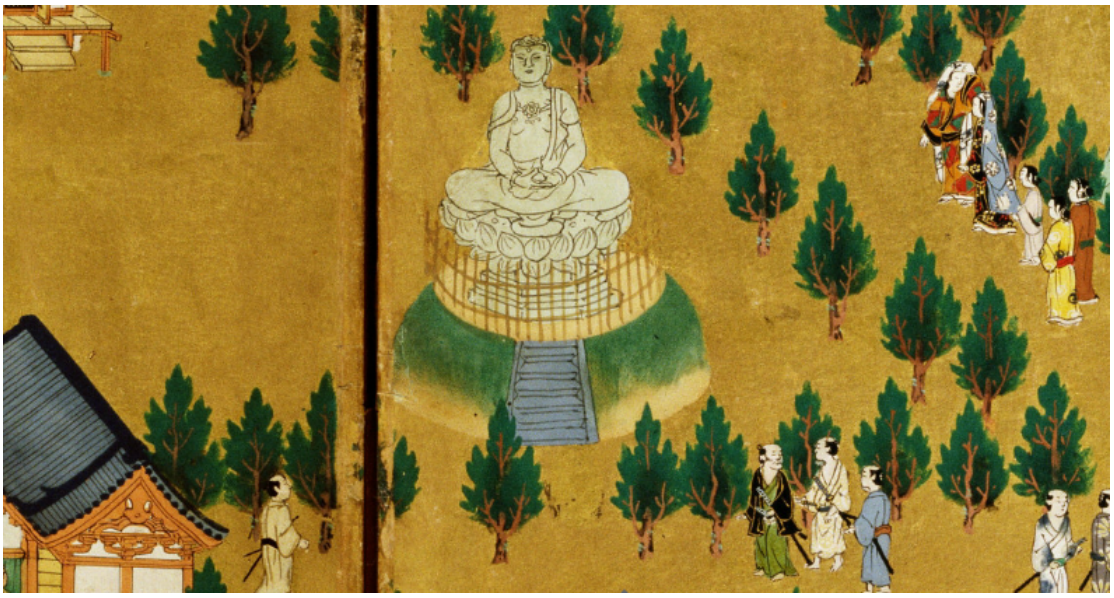

Fig. 102: *Edozu byōbu* (after 1631 and before 1634) close-up to Daibutsu

This Great Buddha is an image of Gautama Siddhārtha. It is not Vairocana, which can be seen at Tōdai-ji, nor the Amitaba Buddha which could be seen at Hōkō-ji. We can confirm this by examining the hand gesture, where the pose of the hand indicates that this is a mudra common in depictions of Gautama Siddhārtha. The Great Buddha takes a lotus position and is sitting on top of a lotus flower shaped base. It indicates that this Buddha was placed on a raised base, approached by stone steps. The Great Buddha is protected by a fence, and there are very few trees around the statue. The colour of the Buddha confirms that it was not painted when completed, and that it was made out of plaster. This matches with previously mentioned documental records. One can see ornamentation on the chest of the statue, though the symbolism behind this is unknown. In many cases, the statue of Gautama Siddhārtha is

portrayed without ornamentation. The Great Buddha sits almost in the middle of the Kan'ei-ji compound and people are depicted viewing the statue. When looking at the Great Buddha and Tōshō-gū, a viewer with a familiarity with second-type *rakuchū rakugai zu* would immediately notice the similarity in how the Daibutsu is portrayed before the shrine which worships a deified spirit of a powerful military ruler of Japan. Hōkō-ji and Hōkoku-sha were portrayed in this way in second type *rakuchū rakugai zu*, but in *Edozu byōbu* the Daibutsu is placed before the shrine of Tokugawa Ieyasu who became the god Tōshō Daigongen. It was not Ieyasu who commissioned this Great Buddha statue in Edo, as this was donated by one of the daimyo. However, Hori Naoyori once served for Hideyoshi, tried to stand on the side of the Toyotomi at the Battle of Sekigahara, then served Ieyasu and continued to serve for the rest of the Tokugawa clan. As explained earlier given Hori Naoyori's complex involvement with the building of this Great Buddha in the heart of Kan'ei-ji compound, which is without doubt one of the most official Tokugawa religious sites in Edo, and portraying it together with religious architecture together with Tōshō-gū at Kan'ei-ji, ironically indicates the sorrow of the nature of human beings in *Edozu byōbu* in the strongest form, because of the depicted Daibutsu. Although it could not have said so, it came from Toyotomi's Daibutsu at Hōkō-ji and which was built by a person who served to Hideyoshi and later betrayed Toyotomi and served on the side of the Tokugawa, and finally donated this very object into Tokugawa's official temple. A Daibutsu needed to be built within the Kan'ei-ji compound, as its major purpose was not only to recreate the religious significance of Mt. Hiei but also to build a replicated Kyoto. However, the Tokugawa shogunate and Tenkai could not officially build the replicated Great Buddha within their religious site, because the original Hōkō-ji was created by the very people that the Tokugawa clan destroyed. It was also where the Tokugawa clan used the bell at Hōkō-ji as an excuse to attack the Toyotomi clan. For all of these reasons, the new Great Buddha statue was inauspicious, which is why it had to be built by someone who was not part of the Tokugawa shogunate. Surely the Shogunate could not have built Daibutsu in Kan'ei-ji even if they desired so, however without Daibutsu through looking at the understanding shared by the people of the time, it would look insufficient and that can be most clearly understood when looking at *rakuchū rakugai zu* being portrayed without Hōkō-ji after its been built. Thus Tokugawa must have had a Daibutsu in its own territory. Later this Buddha statue was damaged by an earthquake. It was then recast in bronze and the Buddha hall was built again. By that point, it appears that the tragic past triggered through this Daibutsu appears to have ended, and people could finally enjoy visiting Hōkō-ji Daibutsu in Edo without saying it.

Edo Meisho Zu byōbu interestingly has no depiction of this Great Buddha at Kan'ei-ji. It is curious why this Great Buddha was not shown. The first possibility is that when this painting was made it was not complete. However, this is almost impossible, since the completion of Kiyomizu-dō was almost at the same time as the completion of the Great Buddha. The second possibility is that this was consciously omitted, which may have been caused by the artist leading the viewer's line of sight towards the Sensō-ji festival. A painting depicting the Daibutsu would have distracted the viewer's attention away from the festival on the first and the second panels. Since there is no record, this is a pure speculaion, but maybe it is because this Daibutsu was considered to be the replicated Hōkō-ji Daibutsu, so the author thought it would be inappropriate to depict it in this screen. In any case, the absence of a Great Buddha in this artwork is both noticeable and unusual. When proposing that the Daibutsu was in fact made at the time this image was painted, though it has been omitted or not painted by a conscious decision, the following hypothesis could be possible - that both the commissioner of the painting and the painter did not want to portray Daibutsu. This clearly links the viewer to the time of Hideyoshi in a way that it is an unwelcomed object, considering that they just wanted to portray the liveliness and prosperous scene of Edo under the Tokugawa shogunate. The Daibutsu is also portrayed in Sumiyoshi Gukei's *Jigen Daishi Engi Emaki* hand scrolls, Figure 103.

Fig. 103: *Jigen Daishi Engi Emaki* (1679-1680) close-up of Daibutsu

In these scrolls, only the Great Buddha's back is portrayed. This is because it is not the usual way to view Kan'ei-ji, which is from south to north, but rather from north to south. The important thing to ascertain is whether this Great Buddha is the original Great Buddha or the

one which was recreated following the earthquake in 1647.The bronze cast Great Buddha was presumably made between 1655 and 1660, and it is clearly written on this hand scroll that this painting was made in 1679. Though the purpose of making this scroll is to indicate the achievements of Tenkai, it would be quite unlikely that Gukei painted the original Daibutsu which was made out of plaster. But he must have portrayed the bronze version. Based on this evidence that the painting was made at the end of 1670, it is natural to conclude that this Daibutsu is the one that was recreated in the 1650s. However, this image of the recast Daibutsu is the earliest example of its kind, and the Great Buddha Hall was created a full ten years after this hand scroll. This is therefore presumably the only surviving image that portrays the cast Great Buddha at Kan'ei-ji. This image was not contrasted with the Tōshō-gū as was the case in *Edozu byōbu*. This might well mean that, at the end of the 1670s, people no longer shared the understanding of the relationship between the cultural and significant characteristics of Daibutsu and great rulers' deified shrines.

4.7 Conclusion

It becomes clear that the presence of a Great Buddha in Japanese political centres was of great importance to rulers in Japan. Rulers from different periods in Japanese history, for their own individual reasons, seemed to believe that the presence of a sacred space in the form of a Great Buddha could strongly support the establishment of a new capital. These sacred spaces were milestones, physically marking the landscape with a new period in time. When samurai class had risen their political significance with their military presence backing them since the 12th century, these Great Buddhas were built in newly established cities by new military figures and became the symbol of the political centre itself. Through observing the history of the Great Buddhas, it is possible to state that it also indicates the historical development of secularisation that slowly occurred in Japan over the centuries. Nara was built under the strong presence of the religious aspect, although by the time the city of Kamakura was established they were, in many ways, religious. The Great Buddha in Kyoto was created in many ways due to a political agenda but still retained a religious element, and the construction of Edo's Great Buddha was mostly a political manoeuvre. The Great Buddha was, by then, dominantly politicised. This symbolism attached to the Great Buddha can be observed through visual materials such as *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens, *Edozu byōbu* and other visual materials. In the period from the mid-16th century to the second half of the 17th century, we can see how these religious symbols were used in a political context. As soon as the Hōkō-ji

Great Buddha was built it was depicted as the central subject matter in paintings. Initially it was intended to show off the power that Hideyoshi gained, then praise the prosperity of the Toyotomi, but upon the destruction of the Toyotomi, the meaning of the Buddha changed to that more of a touristic site for people in and outside of Kyoto under the peaceful governance of Tokugawa shogunate. When Kan'ei-ji was designed the Tokugawa must have deemed it necessary to build a copied Great Buddha in their own territory. However, since they wished to avoid any association with the Toyotomi, the financial backing took the form of a donation for one of the daimyo associated with the Tokugawa. The depiction of the Daibutsu in *Edozu byōbu* clearly indicates that Daibutsu was considered to be an essential subject matter, portrayed at a significant size in the central part of the *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens, though it is depicted as less grand than Tōshō-gū, where Tokugawa Ieyasu is worshiped within the same Kan'ei-ji. It is also interesting to compare the size of the Daibutsu to the size of Edo castle, a contrast that indicates complete political supremacy of the Tokugawa clan if they were attempting to place the replicated Daibutsu as a pure copy of Hōkō-ji's Great Buddha. The idea of building a Daibutsu in Edo demonstrates the Tokugawa shogunate's careful selection of the subject matter for their copied religious pieces of architecture as well as how they processed this act of copy, together with how it must be represented in paintings. Tokugawa felt the need to build a Daibutsu as a symbol to make Edo the main political centre as well as replicate and possibly internalise Kyoto, they also felt that they should not build the Daibutsu at the same scale as the one that already existed in Kyoto. Also, it is vital to consider the doner's Hori Naoyori's personal history which further continues to a speculation that this, at least in Hori's mind, had a symbolic significance as to pacify Hideyoshi and his clan's spirits.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the significance of copying at the time of the early 17th century Edo. It aims to identify firstly if there were any copies of religious architecture that occurred in Edo from the originals in Kyoto. Through this process, it became apparent that understanding the significance of copying needed to be examined from its conceptual understanding at first. This question on concept of copying arose due to the existing different definitions of copy, as well as how we understand copy today and how people in the time frame of the thesis understood it is not the same. Through the examination of this concept of copying, it is revealed that people in the 17th century did not understand the act of copy as something negative, but rather they diligently involved in the process. This act of copying and its conceptual roots have ranged from *waka* poetry making, theatrical plays, creating gardens, possession of miniature landscape, recreating the same religious structure and following the tradition of making certain style of paintings. People applied this act of copy to various fields, thus Tokugawa shogunate committed the replication of the sacred sites in Edo must be understood as completely acceptable even in their metaphysical level.

When looking at authorities of the time, it is not enough to just look at Tokugawa shogunate and how they replicated the sacred space, but it was also inevitable to try understanding how previous rulers of Japan committed the act of copying, to grasp its significance. Therefore, the thesis examined not only sites in Kyoto and Edo, but in other place, particularly, focusing on Daibutsu in both Nara and Kamakura. Through doing this examination it is known that authorities of different time frames also committed the act of copying and although these were different authorities, as it demonstrated in the Chapter Four, they replicated the same object throughout the centuries. It is likely that authorities chose subjects carefully with an intention to make sure that the people of Japan, or the targeted audience in their eyes, are already familiar with them by creating something that has been previously made. These subjects needed to be easily recognisable by viewers thus automatically present certain narratives.

These copied religious sites are all different in terms of the size and materials used as well as the location, but it is clear that authorities were eager to use religious sites to increase their political significance. However, as indicated, Tokugawa shogunate conducted this in a more systematic manner than any other previously existed authorities, by using various ways

so that Edo can possess both equal religious importance and political superiority over Kyoto and beyond. Tokugawa shogunate created new ordinances to negotiate, and afterwards to take control of, religious institutions such as Tendai, Rinzai, Shingon and other sects. Religious institutions before Tokugawa were often too powerful and they could be a threat to authorities as it frequently resulted in rebels such as Ikkō Ikki rebellion or Enryaku-ji monks entering Kyoto. Tokugawa shogunate also followed Hideyoshi's tactics to put the financial burden to daimyo to participate when building their religious sites. They also placed the Imperial authority under their control by issuing laws and through political marriage, so that at the end the Imperial prince would become the head monk of Kan'ei-ji and Tōshō-gū at Nikkō that the Tokugawa shogunate created for their political purpose. The choice of religious sites was also carefully conducted to increase and legitimise their political appearance. For that they also used visual materials such as *Rakuchū rakugai zu* as references for their replicated sacred spaces in Edo.

Further, through analysing visual materials, it became clear that these political messages were then not only represented in the replication of the sacred sites themselves, but were also reflected upon paintings that depict these copied sites. In other words, when a person thinks of one religious site that has been represented in a painting of Kyoto, and compare this site to a copied site in Edo in which it is represented in paintings, a more complex situation appeared. That is, these politically copied religious sites are not only taking place of its replication in architectural form, but authority's political intention is then reflected upon paintings which are often believed to be commissioned by authority themselves. Both Toyotomi and Tokugawa shared this idea on how to use paintings of the city for their political purpose, which originates from the earliest *Rakuchū rakugai zu*. Thus, when a new Tokugawa authority arrived in Japan and tried to make a replication of the original religious sites from Kyoto, which in the case of Daibutsu, was not even an original but again another replication from Nara, it likely occurred to Tokugawa to reference political images from the previous authorities' commission to depict their own city. Of course, the same process must have happened when Tokugawa decides what need to be replicated upon creating their own new city of Edo. As a result, when the authority or at least someone who associate to the authority very closely commissioned *Edozu byōbu,* it has several similar phenomena to paintings that depict the city of Kyoto. Therefore, it indicates these political images did not function just within one authority and their time, but also, the new authority re-used these political images of the religious sites, which previous authorities supported frequently, to legitimise their own

rule. Moreover, by making the replication of these religious sites in Edo and further commissioning paintings that include these copied sites, in a way, Tokugawa copied the process that the former authority Toyotomi had practiced when they commissioned to depict Kyoto with their religious sites. Therefore, similarities can be observed both in a way these copied religious sites were depicted in Tokugawa's officially commissioned other images as well as in their architectural similarities. In this sense, Tokugawa shogunate has practiced replicating *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens in the location of Edo.

Above led to state that ultimately for authorities it was neither painting method nor technique that mattered as to consists of the fundamental value in these screen paintings, but it was political intention that motivated the commissioning of these artworks decisively. It was only for this primal purpose, each image that depicts their own cities, either Kyoto or Edo, did not have to be completely following or copying the manner of composition and style. Accepting these judgements then allow us to understand *Rakuchū rakugai zu* more naturally during both Toyotomi and Tokugawa held substantial power between the time of Hideyoshi's death and Hideyori's death, because these paintings changed the way how specific religious sites, most notably Daibutsu at Hōkō-ji, have changed its way to be depicted then its eventual disappearance from the *Rakuchū rakugai zu* screens.

Therefore, what was fundamental is the presence of the political message behind those paintings in which why I found '*fugue*' as a concept explained the mechanism of the authorities' motivation upon replicating religious sites at most convincing: It not only just imitates what was presented but creates something different through adding extra meaning. Simultaneously, it possesses characteristic to the original theme, that whoever experienced it, when that person knows history, would be able to recall the narrative of the past as if resonates.

As this thesis has analysed, some sacred sites and where they belonged in Kyoto were copied in Edo. Mt. Hiei and its Enryaku-ji temple compound, which served as one of the most influential religious sects in Japan and thought to protect the Imperial capital since the 9th century, was perceived by the Tokugawa shogunate as the most important subject of copying. It was therefore replicated in Edo as Tōeizan Kan'ei-ji. The auspicious North-East direction has been copied that of the original Mt. Hiei, and several pieces of religious architecture were replicated based upon the original religious structure in Kyoto. The copying process was made through official decisions, and through the shogun giving permission and land was given to

Tenkai, the most important Tokugawa monk and brains. As explained in detail in previous chapters, this act led to the replication of both Kiyomizu-dera and the Daibutsu in Kan'ei-ji compound.

The copied official temple of Tokugawa was not limited to Kan'ei-ji, but other sacred mountain landscapes were also copied from Kyoto. Hiyoshi Taisha, which enshrines Shinto deities to protect Mt. Hiei, was also considered to be an important site by different authorities. This understanding was shared by the Tokugawa clan so that it was copied into their own territory of Edo, which resulted in Hiyoshi Sannō. As appeared in visual materials, the temple in Edo conducts the same religious festival that the original site practiced in Kyoto. It was also felt by the shogunate that the highest sacred mountain in terms of altitude in Kyoto needs to be copied. When considering Mt. Atago, Ieyasu himself received the same worshipped statue to Mt. Atago, although not from the original site in Kyoto, and as soon as he entered Edo, he ordered to copy the sacred site of Mt. Atago, together with Mt. Hiei and other original religious sites in Kyoto. As a result, a small hill but has highest altitude within the vicinity of central Edo where Ieyasu created was named after Mt. Atago, and it also shares the main figure of worship. When the shogun changed or children of shogun were born, members of the Tokugawa clan paid a visit to this Atago shrine, indicating that having Mt. Atago in their own place had a special meaning for the Tokugawa clan, therefore it is depicted in several visual materials that the thesis referred.

These replicated religious sites all indicate that having to copy mountain landscape from Kyoto meant something crucial for Tokugawa shogunate. Although Edo did not share similar geological features to Kyoto, Tokugawa authority used different ways to convince people and themselves when they created these religious spaces. This indicates Tokugawa's desire to move sacred mountain landscapes from Kyoto into Edo in order to both secure their territory religiously and culturally, and further, to demonstrate their authoritative presence to people who live in and outside.

So far, as the thesis proved, Kiyomizu-dera was copied in Edo as Kiyomizu-dō. When Kiyomizu-dera burnt down, the Tokugawa decided to fund the reconstruction. In this way, the Tokugawa shogunate's political power was demonstrated in both Edo and Kyoto through using these religious sites. Historically, Kiyomizu-dera was perceived as a temple that is not only a religious place, but where people can enjoy the view, and also a religious site that has strong

connections to the military. This military link can be easily indicated by the Ashikaga shogun, who, when he first entered Kyoto with Nobunaga, he first resided at Kiyomizu-dera. Later, Hideyoshi guaranteed the territory of Kiyomizu, and this support by samurai figures continued to in the time of Tokugawa shogunate. The temple territory was guaranteed by the subsequent ruler Tokugawa Iemitsu, who was widely mentioned in historic literature to have faith in Kiyomizu-dera. This political influence and favour, together with its already well established fame as *nadokoro*, is how Kiyomizu-dera was successfully replicated into Edo, as well as original Kyoto Kiyomizu-dera received shogunal funding for its restoration when it burned down. Having this famous and popular object within the territory of Edo must have been considered as essential to successful city planning, particularly when Kan'ei-ji – a miniature copied version of Kyoto – was first built. They also shared the same main figure of worship, which originally situated at Kiyomizu-dera then was moved to Kiyomizu-dō upon the request of Tenkai. This relocation of the central figure of worship itself clearly shows the Tokugawa's fervent intention of copying this religious site from Kyoto. Furthermore, replicated Kiyomizu scene is created within Koishikawa Kōrakuen. The third Tokugawa shogun's involvement is suggested in making this miniaturised site as this thesis examined. Although this Kiyomizu is built within a garden, it possesses official characteristic by having a religious figure inside the structure as well as possessing semi-religious characteristics. It is interesting that in the *Edozu byōbu*, although the golden clouds cover certain sections of this garden, it suggests any knowledgeable viewer of *Edozu byōbu* is capable to link the Kiyomizu at Kyoto through imagining Kiyomizu at Koishikawa Kōrakuen.

Understanding original Kiyomizu and those replicated spaces in Edo supplies us to know obvious interest that Tokugawa shogunate held upon this religious site. Since Edo was culturally almost unknown location, Tokugawa must have an urge to create something that makes them look legitimate inherent as a governor of Japan. Therefore, instead of waiting certain locations to gain its literal reputation as famous place, they instead brought Kiyomizu-dera into their own territory and stated that they not only understand the importance of knowing about cultural heritage but also possessing their own replicated version.

In the case of Great Buddha, after the Great Buddha in Nara, under any location that it is copied brings a sense of history and knowledge, so that people instantaneously can understand and feel the object and its message sent by the authorities who replicated the object. The message that Great Buddha portrays is the rule, wealth and power of the authority where

it stands. Therefore, is comes with no surprise that officially commissioned works of art often depict this object and put them as one of the central subject matters. Hence Great Buddha possessed monumental characteristic both to viewers and authorities.

Certainly, in the case of the Kyoto Great Buddha, copying served to 'bring back' what the Imperial Court had once abandoned when they moved the capital from Nara to Kyoto, and this was made by the hands of Toyotomi clan. Even though this Daibutsu in Kyoto was something special, as is already shown in visual materials, its significance has faded as the Tokugawa defeated the Toyotomi. For the Toyotomi clan, completing the Daibutsu and its hall was not just meant to fulfil a religious purpose, but was intended to demonstrate their clan's prosperity. When Hideyoshi died, the reconstruction started again, which added another layer to the building as a symbol of claiming Hideyori's legitimacy as a descendant of Hideyoshi thus the future political ruler of Japan. However, this very site became the excuse for the Tokugawa to attack the Toyotomi clan, which resulted the end of the Toyotomi.

When Kan'ei-ji was planned, creating Kyoto within their own territory of Edo meat to replicate the Great Buddha and its hall, and it must have had a difficult thing to achieve. This is because, as clearly indicated from the second-type *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens, Hōkō-ji and its Buddha acted as one of the main sacred site in Kyoto and it inevitably symbolises the power that Toyotomi held. Building a large Daibutsu figure and its hall was not only a financial burden for the new city and its ruler, but at the same time reminded the public of the achievements of Hideyoshi which the Tokugawa shogunate was keen to downplay. As a result, in order to solve this politically sensitive issue, a small-scaled Great Buddha was built by the daimyo who once served for Hideyoshi, Hori Naoyori. While Tokugawa shogunate appeared untouched in the official sense, though its approval in the level of off the record is clearly suggested in this thesis. Because otherwise Hori could not have donated such a politically delicate and risky object to the Tokugawa shogunate's official temple of Kan'ei-ji unless he was given shogunal permission to build it. This then lead to the speculation that Daibutsu at Kan'ei-ji might have served as a religious architecture to calm those Toyotomi related souls who were destroyed by the Tokugawa clan.

Through all the developments and changes discussed in this thesis around these religious sites, the incredibly strong desire – almost desperation – of the Tokugawa shogunate to assert their legitimacy has been laid bare. They needed to declare a political presence that

would go down in history, and copying the crucial religious sites and architecture from Kyoto to Edo was thought to be essential to achieve this aim. This must have seen as the only way for Tokugawa shogunate to quickly and effectively increase the reputation as new ruling power, as their rule was not stable enough and imminent oppositional power would arise at any moment when Tokugawa did not act to demonstrate to the public of their legitimacy. Decisions to what would be the most appropriate religious sites to copy was most likely referred from *rakuchū rakugai zu* and beyond. By doing so, Tokugawa shogunate also considered the religious context and power which each original site had held.

Images depicting Edo indicate the complicated and layered mind set of the Tokugawa shogunate. Religiously, by making copied religious sites, Tokugawa could announce its status as equal to the capital of Kyoto. At the same time, through making the replicated sites smaller than the original, there are two further aspects they could introduce. One is to take out the cultural heritage of Kyoto: they felt a need to make copies within their own territory in order to fulfil their lack of cultural resources. Secondly, by making them smaller, it could indicates the idea of internalising and absorbing Kyoto within their own city. When these two aspects combined, Tokugawa can declare the superiority of Edo over Kyoto, because Edo is larger than Kyoto. In *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu*, Mt. Hiei, Daibutsu and Kiyomizu are depicted on the right screen and the Nijō castle is seen on the left screen, together with Mt Atago. In *Edozu byōbu*, overlapping Edo to *rakuchū rakugai zu* can be observed. Though, obviously, this time, Edo castle is depicted much larger than the Nijō castle in size, and replicated sites in Edo are depicted smaller. Furthermore, at Tōshō-gū in Kan'ei-ji compound, where they enshrined Ieyasu as deified figure, has been depicted in reminiscent of the Toyokuni shrine in Kyoto, where Hideyoshi was worshiped as a god. These aspects symbolise the complicated relationship that Tokugawa shogunate possessed towards Kyoto where they could not completely desired to abandon the city planning of Kyoto, when they built the new city of Edo in the early 17th century. It was complicated emotions and mixed feelings that Tokugawa had when replicating Kyoto sacred sites. Tokugawa exercised this act of copying not only for people who lived in Edo, Kyoto or in other places, but also to convince themselves as a new ruler of Japan. Today, seeing pictorial expressions of Edo give us a key insight into how successful this strategy was, however, when they were committing replication, they had no confidence if their strategy would resonate in later generations as their eyes were seeing Kyoto.

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